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TRANSLATED FROM THE

SPANISH of FEYJOO;

On the following SUBJECTS,

The VOICE of the PEOPLE,

VIRTUE and VICE,

Exalted and Humble FORTUNE,

The moſt refin'd POLICY.

LONDON:

Printed for T. BECKET, the Corner of the Adelphi, in the Strand.

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Tranſlator's Preface.

THE author of the following diſcourſes, was a dignified clergyman of the church of Rome, high in Rank, and much reſpected as an Eccleſiaſtic; but was moſt admired, for his candour, univerſal learning, ſhining parts, and extenſive knowledge: and as a proof of the great eſtimation, in which his writings were held in Spain, theſe Diſcourſes are tranſlated from the eighth edition of his works publiſhed in the courſe of a moderate number of years. The nature, ſcope, and deſign of the author's writings, will be beſt explained by his own Prologue, which follows next in order.

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PROLOGUE.

TO THE READER.

MY good reader, whoever you are, I have little expectation that you'll be very propitious to this my undertaking, from a ſuppoſition, that you probably are already pre-occupied in favour of many of the opinions which I combat; and I ought not to have ſuch confidence, either in my perſuaſive powers, or in your docility, as to promiſe myſelf an early conqueſt of your

 prejudices,

prejudices, or a ſudden attachment of your aſſent. From hence it may follow, that ſtiff in your old opinions, you will condemn my ſentiments, as falſe and injurious. Father Malebranche ſaid juſtly, that thoſe authors who write with an intention to baniſh common pre-poſſeſſions, ſhould always conclude, that the public will receive their works with diſguſt. Whenever it happens that truth becomes triumphant, the victory advances by ſuch ſlow paces, that the author, while he lives, only enjoys the vain expectation, that his tomb will one day be crown'd with laurels. A ſtriking example of this was the famous William Hervey, againſt whom, on account of his noble diſcovery reſpecting the circulation of the blood, the phyſicians of that time declaimed furiouſly, though all the profeſſors of the ſcience at preſent, venerate him as an oracle. In his life time they loaded him with injuries, now he is dead they would place his image on the altars.

I ſhould here endeavour to win your mind to an admiſſion of my maxims, and take

take the opportunity of ſhewing, by various examples, how involv'd in error are many of the moſt eſtabliſhed opinions; but this being the intire object of my firſt diſcourſe, I muſt refer you thither, for the peruſal of my arguments on this head, I having plac'd that diſcourſe in the front, as a neceſſary preliminary to this volume; but if you are not to be perſuaded, and are obſtinately bent on remaining a conſtant partizan of the Voice of the People, in the name of goodneſs purſue your courſe. If you are wiſe you will be liberal alſo, and we ſhall not become angry with each other, for liberality will reprehend the ſentiment, without ill treating the author; but if you are ſimple, you, together with that infirmity, will not fail to poſſeſs the quality of inexorable alſo. I know very well, there is not a more rigid cenſurer of a book, than a man who is incapable of dictating a letter. Such people may ſay what they pleaſe of me, and treat my opinions as excentric, becauſe they are out of the common road, but let us agree in a preliminary, to wit, that if they are to take the liberty of calling me extravagant, I may be allowed to ſay they are ignorant.

I ought,

I ought, however, to remove ſome objections, that will naturally occur in reading this volume. The firſt is, the diſcourſes not being diſtributed in determin'd claſſes, and not following in a regular progreſſion, the faculties or matters to which they belong. To this I anſwer, that though I at firſt deſign'd ſuch an arrangement, I ſoon diſcover'd the purſuing it to be impracticable; for having propoſed to myſelf ſo vaſt a field in the Theatrico Critico, I ſaw that many of the matters which would be touch'd upon in it, were incomprehenſible under a determin'd faculty, either becauſe they do not belong to any one in particular, or becauſe, they participate equally of many. Beſides, there are a number, every one of which treats ſolely of ſome particular faculty, without any other having to do with the ſubject matter. On phyſical ſubjects only, within which walk the errors of the vulgar are infinite, you may write as many diſcourſes as are capable of making a ſeparate volume; but I am more diſpoſed to divide them in the different volumes, becauſe by ſo doing, each will afford a more agreeable variety.

variety. By this means, although every volume with reſpect to the matter, will appear, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a miſcellany, the deſign of attacking common errors will be uniformly preſerved. The formal object will always be the ſame, the materials muſt neceſſarily be compoſed of great variety, and ſhould be diſtributed.

I may perhaps be blamed, for giving the name of errors to all the opinions I controvert. The complaint would be juſt, if I did not remove the odium of the term by an explanation. I ſay then, that error in the ſenſe I here take and uſe it, ſignifies no more than an opinion that I look upon as falſe, abſtracted from, and without my determining upon the probality or improbility of it.

Neither by the term common errors, do I mean to ſignify, that thoſe I encounter are incident to all mankind, it is ſufficient to apply this term to them if they are admitted by the generality of the vulgar, or lead in their train a more than ordinary

number

number of the literati. This muſt be underſtood with a reſervation, that I don't mean to introduce myſelf as a judge in thoſe queſtions, which are mooted in various ſchools, eſpecially ſuch as regard Theological points: for what advances can I make on thoſe ſubjects, which have been ſtudied and conſidered with the moſt intenſe reflection by ſo many men of eminence? or who am I, to have ſuch confidence in my ſtrength, as to fancy, that I am capable of entering the liſts, where ſo many giants engage? In matters purely phyſical, this objection need not detain me; for thoſe of this ſpecies, which are treated of in other ſchools are very few, and thoſe few, with little or no reflection.

I may be alſo blamed, when I am to touch upon many things which are mere matters of faculty, for having wrote in the Caſtilian Idiom: as an anſwer to this, it will be ſufficient to reply, that no other reaſon is neceſſary to be given for ſo doing, than that I know of no reaſon againſt it. I don't deny, that there are truths, which

ſhould

ſhould be hid from the vulgar, whoſe weakneſs expoſes them to more danger by being informed, than they would be expoſed to by remaining in ignorance; but this argument would militate with equal ſtrength, againſt thoſe truths going forth to the world in Latin, there being a great number of vulgar, among thoſe who underſtand that idiom, and it paſſes eaſily from them, to thoſe people who know no other language than their own mother tongue.

I am ſo far from having the leaſt intention to communicate pernicious matter to the public, that the principal deſign of this work, is to undeceive them in many points, which by being admitted as true, would be very prejudicial to them; nor is it reaſonable, that a benefit which can be made univerſal, ſhould not be enjoyed by every one.

But don't from what I have advanced, conclude, that I have great confidence the work will be of eminent utility; for altho' my ſole object is to propoſe the truth, it is poſſible

poſſible, that in ſome inſtances I may want penetration to diſcern it, and in others, powers to perſuade it; but I can with confidence aſſure you, that I write nothing, but what is conformable to my real ſentiments. I look upon propoſing or attempting to prove ſingular opinions only with a view of diſplaying a perſon's ingenuity, as pueril and pedantic, and conſider it as an employment, unworthy of every honeſt man. In converſation, theſe things may be tolerated by way of amuſement, but the introducing them into writings, is an abuſe, and a deceit upon the public. The noble uſe of reaſon, is to penetrate and perſuade truths, and the knack of puzzling others with ſophiſtries, the meaneſt faculty of the human underſtanding. Spiders, which in the brute creation are look'd upon as vile, fabricate fine, but trifling threads; among mankind, none fabricate fine and firm ones, but excellent artiſts; the firſt, are emblems of ſubtle and ſophiſtical works, the others of ingenious and ſolid ones.

The

The common errors which I attack, don't always occupy the whole of the diſcourſe in which they are treated of, and ſometimes, many are comprehended in the ſame diſcourſe, either becauſe they relate immediately to the matter of it, or becauſe in purſuing the thread of the principal ſubject, they are found in the way, or fall in as it were by incident. This method appeared to me the moſt convenient, as by writing a ſeperate diſcourſe upon every opinion I encounter, there being much to be ſaid on ſome heads, and but little on others, there would reſult a compound or maſs of parts extremely unequal.

I expect many attacks, eſpecially with relation to two or three of the diſcourſes in this book, and when ſome of my friends apprize me, that I ſhall be loaded with injuries and abuſe; I reply, that ſuch treatment will only ſerve to convince me more firmly of the truth of what I have written; it being certain, that he is doubtful of his own ſtrength, who attacks with unfair weapons. If they oppoſe me with arguments,

ments, I will reply to them, if with sneers and scurrility, I shall instantly allow myself vanquish'd, as that is a mode of engaging in which I never exercised myself. Adieu.

THE VOICE of the PEOPLE.

THAT ill underſtood maxim, that God explains himſelf in the Voice of the People, authorizes the commonalty to triumph over ſound judgment, and erect to themſelves a tribunicial authority, capable of oppreſſing, and bearing down the dignity of literature. This is an error that is pregnant with an infinity of others, becauſe, by eſtabliſhing the poſition, that the voice of the multitude is the rule of truth, all the extravagancies of the vulgar, would be venerated as inſpirations of heaven. This conſideration, excites me to attack this error the firſt, upon a ſuppoſition, that by exploding this, I ſhall ſubdue many enemies in one, or at leaſt, that it will be more eaſy to expunge other errors, by removing the patronage, which they receive from the common voice in the eſtimation of unwary men.

SECT. I.

I. *Æſtimes judicia non numeres*, ſaid Seneca, (Epiſh. 39) The value of opinions, ſhould be computed by the weight, not by the number of votaries. The ignorant tho' numerous, are ignorant ſtill; what benefit then is to be expected from their determinations? It is rather probable, that the multitude by increaſing the partizans of error, would increaſe obſtacles to the advancement of truth. If it was barbarous ſuperſtition in the Moloſſians, an antient people of Epirus, to conſtitute the trunk of an oak for the organ of Apollo, would it be leſs ſo to concede this privilege to the whole Dodonean Wood? and if from a ſtone, unleſs modelled by the hand of an artiſt, you could not produce the image of Minerva, the ſame impoſſibility would continue, although you add to it all the rocks of a mountain. One wiſe perſon, will always diſcern more than a croud of ſimpletons, as one eagle can better ſee the ſun, than an army of owls.

II. Pope John the XXIII. being once aſked What was the thing the moſt diſtant from truth, anſwered, the opinion of the vulgar. The ſevere Phocion was ſo firmly of this ſentiment, that obſerving, while he was once making an oration in Athens, the people with one conſent raiſe their

voices

voices in his applauſe, aſked his friends who were near him, what miſtake he had been guilty of, as he was perſuaded, the blind populace were incapable of applauding any thing but abſurdities. I don't approve theſe rigorous deciſions, nor can I conſider the populace as the preciſe antipodes to the hemiſphere of truth; they are ſometimes right, but this generally ſpeaking, is either the reſult of chance, or the effect of borrowed reflection. Some wiſe man, I don't remember who, compared the vulgar to the moon, on account of their inconſtancy, the compariſon however was juſt, as they never ſhine by the power of their own lights: *non conſilium in vulgo, non ratio, non diſcrimen, non diligencia*, ſaid Tully. (Orat. pro Planc) There is not in this vaſt body, any native illumination, wherewith it can diſcern the true from the falſe, the light is all borrowed, and reflected ſuperficially, for by reaſon of its opacity, the rays cannot penetrate through it.

III. The public is an inſtrument of various ſounds, which unleſs it happens by ſome rare accident, till adjuſted by a ſkilful hand, is hardly ever in tune. Epicurus was dreaming, when he imagined, that infinite atoms impelled by chance, and wandering through the air, could, without the interpoſition of a ſupreme will, form this admirable ſyſtem of the globe. Peter Gaſſendo, and

the other modern refiners upon Epicurus, added to this vulgar confuſion, a diſpoſition and regulation, executed by the divine hand; but even ſuppoſing this, it will be difficult for us to comprehend, by what means the rudeneſs of matter was poliſhed, and the earth rendered capable of producing the moſt trifling plant. The vulgarity of mankind, differs but little from the vulgarity of the atoms, and from the caſual concurrence of our ſentiments, there would hardly ever reſult a regular ſeries of eſtabliſhed truths, it will be neceſſary, that the ſupreme Being ſhould ſuperintend the buſineſs, but how muſt it be done? Why by employing learned and wiſe men as his ſubalterns, and uſing them as a ſecondary means, to diſpoſe and organize ſuch material entities.

IV. Thoſe who aſcribe ſo great authority to the common voice, don't foreſee a dangerous conſequence, that treads cloſe on the heels of their tenet, for if the deciſion of what is truth, was to be confided to the plurality of voices, you ſhould look for ſound doctrine in the Alcoran of Mahomed, and not in the Goſpel of Chriſt, it being certain, that the Alcoran would have more votes in its favour than the Goſpel. I am ſo far from being of opinion, that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be decided by numbers, that I think it ought to be determined the reverſe, becauſe in the nature of things,

things, error occupies a much larger field than truth, and the vulgar of mankind, as the loweſt and moſt humble portion of the rational world, may be compared to the element of earth, whoſe bowels contain little gold but much iron.

SECT. II.

V. Whoever conſiders, that there is but one path which leads to truth, and that thoſe which lead to error are infinite, will not be ſurpriſed, that mankind who travel by ſo dim a light, ſhould in the bulk go aſtray. The conceptions which the underſtanding forms of things, may be compared to ſquares, which can only be regular one way, but may be irregular an infinite number of ways. Every body according to its ſpecies, can, by but one mode, be produced rightly organized, but may be produced a monſter by an infinite number; even in the heavens, there are but two fixed points to direct the navigator; all the others are changeable; there are likewiſe two fixed points in the ſphere of the human underſtanding, to wit, revelation, and demonſtration: The reſt is a group of opinions, that dance about, and are made to follow one another, according to the caprice of doubtful and inferior comprehenſions. Whoever does not obſerve attentively theſe two points, or at leaſt one of them, according to the hemiſphere in which

he navigates, that is, the firſt in the hemiſphere of grace, and the ſecond in the hemiſphere of nature, will never arrive at the port of truth; for as in very few parts of the terraqueous globe, the magnetic needle points true to the poles, but in moſt places has more or leſs degrees of variation, even ſo in very few parts of the world, does the human underſtanding attain the pole of its direction; the pole of revelation, is perceived directly, in only two places, Europe, and America, in all other parts, it has more or leſs degrees of declination: in the heretical countries, the needle is much warped, more in the Mahometan countries, and more ſtill in the idolatrous ones. The pole of demonſtration, is obſerved only by the ſmall community of mathematicians, and even within that ſmall circle, is affected with declination.

But what neceſſity is there for beating round the world, to diſcover, that in various regions, the common opinion is the reverſe of truth; even among the people who were called God's people, ſo far many times was the voice of the people from being the voice of God, that there was not the leaſt ſemblance between them: no ſooner was the voice of the people in uniſon with the divine voice, than it immediately changed to the greateſt diſſonance. Moſes propounded to them the laws which God had given him, and all the people cried

cried with one conſent, what the Lord has commanded let us do: how beautiful was the ſound of conſonance between the two voices! but no ſooner did the chapel maſter Moſes, who had put them in tune, turn his back, than the ſame congregation, after obliging Aaron to make two idols, lifted up their voice, and ſaid, theſe are the true Gods to whom we owe our liberty; what horrible diſſonance!

VII. Circumſtances of this ſort occurred often; but the caſe of their petitioning Samuel to give them a king has ſomething particular in it. The voice of God promulged by the mouth of the Prophet, diſſuaded them from deſiring a king; but how diſtant was the voice of the people from concording with the divine organ, for they once and again repeat their intreaties to have a king; and on what do they found their requeſt? why upon other nations having kings. In this inſtance, there are two things which are ſtriking and remarkable, the one is, that though this requeſt was made by the voice of the whole people, it was erroneous, the other is, that it's being qualified by the authority of all other people does not amend or exempt it from the error. To ſum up the whole, the voice of the people of Iſrael concorded with the voices of all other people, and it's being in conſonance with all thoſe other people, made it diſſonant

to

to the divine voice. Away now with thoſe who would govern us by common cries, upon the foundation, that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

SECT. III.

VIII. I was once of opinion, that in one ſpecial inſtance, the public voice was infallible, that is to ſay, in the approbation, or reprobation, of particular people. It appeared to me, that he of whom the public at large entertained a good opinion, was certainly a good man, that he was certainly wiſe, who was generally allowed to be ſo, and ſo on the contrary; but upon reflection, I found that in this inſtance alſo, the popular opinion is liable to miſtake. Phocion, as he was once reprehending the people of Athens with ſome aſperity, was accoſted by his enemy Democritus in theſe words, Have a care what you ſay, for they will murder you for talking to them in this manner: And do you take care, anſwered Phocion, or they will murder you likewiſe, for pretending to paſs your judgment. This ſentence ſhewed, that he thought the populace hardly ever right in their deciſions, with regard to people's qualities or characters. The hard fate of Phocion himſelf, confirmed in a great meaſure this ſentiment, becauſe he was afterwards put to death as an enemy to

his

his country, by the furious populace of Athens, though he was the beſt man, which at that time could be found in all Greece.

IX. An ignorant man having paſſed for a wiſe one, and a wiſe one being reputed a fool, are things which have been frequent in many places, and applicable to this, is the pleaſant event which happened to Democritus with his countrymen the Abderites. This philoſopher, who had long meditated on the follies and vanities of mankind, was accuſtomed, when any occurrence brought theſe reflections to his mind, to burſt out into inmoderate fits of laughter. The Abderites having remarked this, although they before eſteemed him a very wiſe man, concluded that he was gone mad, and they wrote to Hippocrates who flouriſhed at that time, and earneſtly intreated that he would come and cure him. The good old man ſuſpected how the matter ſtood, to wit, that the people, were diſordered and not Democritus, and concluded, that what they miſtook for madneſs, was rather a ſymptom of great wiſdom. In a letter to his friend Dionoſius, informing him of his being ſent for by the Abderites, and the account they had given him of Democritus's madneſs, he expreſſes himſelf to this effect. *Ego vero neque morbum ipſum eſſe puto, ſed immodicam doctrinam, quæ revera non eſt immodica, ſed ab idiotis putatur*; and writing

writing to Philopemnes, he ſays: *cum non inſaniam, ſed quandam excelentem mentis ſanitatem vir ille declaret.* Afterwards, Hippocrates viſited Democritus, and from a long converſation which he had with him, was ſatisfied, that his laughter was founded in wiſe and ſolid morality, the juſtneſs of which, he was convinced of and admired. Hippocrates in a letter he wrote to Damagetus, gives a particular account of this converſation, and there may be ſeen his encomiums upon Democritus; among other things he ſays, Democritus ſo far from being mad, is the wiſeſt man I ever met with; I was much inſtructed by his converſation, and rendered more capable of inſtructing others: *Hoc erat illud, Damagete, quod conjectabamus. Non inſanit Democritus, ſed ſuper omnia ſunt, et nos ſapientores effecit, et per nos omnes homines.*

X. Theſe letters are to be found in the works of Hippocrates, and are well deſerving of being read, eſpecially that to Damagetus, and from them, may be infered, not only how much the public at large are capable of being miſtaken in their opinion of an individual, but alſo, with how little reaſon, many authors paint Democritus as a half mad ridiculous perſon; for nobody diſputes the judgment and wiſdom of Hippocrates, who, after treating ſeriouſly and at large on the ſubject, gives ſo oppoſite a teſtimony: in his diſcuſſion of the matter,

ter, he declares, that in his judgment, Democritus was the moſt learned and wiſe man in the world; and in a letter of Hippocrates to Democritus, he recognizes him for the greateſt natural philoſopher upon earth: *Optimum naturæ, ac mundi interpretem te judicavi.* Hippocrates was then grown old, for in the ſame letter he ſays: *Ego enim ad finem medicinæ perveni, etiam ſi jam ſenex ſim*; and conſequently, capable of forming a good judgment of the abilities of Democritus.

I am diſpoſed to think, that the accuſation which ſome authors bring againſt Ariſtotle is a probable one, to wit, that he did not fairly lay open to the world the opinions of other philoſophers who preceded him, to the end, that by diſcrediting all thoſe, he might eſtabliſh the ſovereignty of his own doctrine, and that he did by them, as the great Lord Bacon ſays the Ottoman Emperors do by their brothers, put them all to death that they may reign in ſecurity.

SECT. IV.

With regard to virtue and vice, the inſtances of the one having been miſtaken for the other by the public, in particular people, are ſo numerous, that hiſtory ſtumbles upon them, at almoſt every ſtep; nothing can illuſtrate this more evidently, than

than the greateſt impoſtors the world has produced, having paſſed for repoſitories of the ſecrets of heaven. Numa Pompilius, introduced among the Romans, whatever policy and religion he thought fit, by means of the fiction, that all he propoſed was dictated to him by the nymph Egeria. The Spaniards fought blindly againſt the Romans, under the banners of Sertorius, he having made them believe, that through a white doe, which he artfully made uſe of, and had trained for his purpoſe, he received by occult means, all ſorts of information, which was communicated to the doe by the goddeſs Diana. Mahomed perſuaded a great part of Aſia, that heaven had ſent the Angel Gabriel to him as a Nuncio in the ſhape of a dove, which he had taught to put its bill into his ear. Moſt heretical opinions, although ſtained with manifeſt impurities, were reputed in many places, to proceed from the venerable archieves of the divine myſteries.

XII. We have even ſeen ſuch monſters engendered in the boſom of the Roman church. In the eleventh century, Tranquilenus, a man given openly to all kinds of debauchery, was venerated as a ſaint by the people of Antwerp, and to ſuch a pitch did they carry their adoration, that they preſerved as a relic, the water in which he had waſhed himſelf. In the republic of Florence

where

where the people were never thought rude, or unculcivated, Francis Geronimo Sovonarola, a man of prodigious genius, and great ſagacity, was many years reſpected as a ſaint, and a perſon endued with the ſpirit of prophecy; he made the people believe, that his political predictions were divine revelations, though they were founded on ſecret advices which he received from France, and notwithſtanding many of theſe predictions were proved falſe, ſuch as the ſecond coming of Charles the Eighth into Italy, the recovery of John Pico de Mirandola from a fit of ſickneſs, of which he died two days afterwards, &c. And although he was publicly burnt on the parade at Florence for an impoſtor, ſtill, all was not ſufficient, to eradicate his deceptions from the minds of many people; for not only the heretics venerate him as a heavenly man, and conſider him as a forerunner of Luther, on account of his vehement declamations againſt the court of Rome, but ſome Catholics were his panegyriſts likewiſe, among whom Marcus Antonius Flaminius excelled all the others, by the following beautiful though falſe epigram.

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, paſcitur artus
Relligio jacras dilaniata comas
Flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ
Parcite, ſunt iſto viſcera, noſtra rogo.

XIII.

XIII. But what has been the moſt monſtrous in theſe ſort of caſes is, that ſome churches have celebrated, and even worſhipped as ſaints, perverſe men, who died ſeparated from the Roman church. The church of Limoges, addreſſed for a long time in a direct prayer, which prayer exiſts at this day in the ancient brevary of that church, Euſebius Ceſarius, who lived and died in the Arian hereſy, they having, as is moſt probable, miſtaken him at firſt, for Euſebius Biſhop of Ceſarea, in Capadocia, who was the ſucceſſor of Saint Baſil, whereas the man we have now been mentioning, was Biſhop of Ceſarea in Paleſtine; I am very well aware, ſome authors aſſert, that at the council of Nice he conformed to the Catholic faith, in which he remained ſteady ever after, but there are ſo many teſtimonies to contradict this, and among the reſt his own writings, that what is ſaid in his defence ſeems void of all probability. The church of Turin venerated a thief as a martyr, and erected an altar to him, which St. Martin deſtroyed, after having convinced them of their error; this is related by Sulpicius in his Life of St. Martin.

SECT. V.

XIV. To excite a total diſtruſt of the Vox Populi, you need only reflect upon the extravagant errors,

errors, which in matters of religion, policy, and manners, have been ſeen, and may ſtill be ſeen authorized, by the common conſent of whole bodies politic. Cicero ſaid, there was no tenet, though ever ſo wild and abſurd, that had not been maintained by ſome philoſopher or other: *Nihil tam abſurdum dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philoſophorum.* (liv. 2 de Divinat.) I will venture with greater reaſon to affirm, there is no extravagance however monſtrous, which has not been patronized by the uniform conſent of ſome country.

XV. Things which the light of natural reaſon repreſents as abominable, have in this, and the other region, paſſed, and ſtill do paſs as lawful. Lying, perjury, adultery, murder, and robbery; in ſhort all vices have obtained, and do obtain the general approbation of ſome nations. The Herules, an ancient people, whoſe ſituation cannot be exactly aſcertained, though they dwelt near the borders of the Baltic Sea, were uſed to put to death all their ſick and old people, nor would they ſuffer the wives to ſurvive their huſbands. The Caſpians, a people of Scythia, were more barbarous ſtill, they impriſoned, and ſtarved to death, their own parents, when they came to be advanced in years. What abominations were committed by ſome people of Ethiopia, who according to Elianus, adopt-

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ed a dog for their king, and regulated all their actions, by the geſtures and motions of that animal; and Pliny inſtances a people who he calls Toembaros, though not of Ethiopia, who obeyed the ſame maſter.

Nor are the hearts of mankind in many parts of the world, much mended at this day. There are many places where they feed on human fleſh, and go hunting for men, as they would for wild beaſts. The Yagos a people of the kingdom of Anſicus, in Africa, eat, not only the priſoners they take in war, but feed alſo upon thoſe of themſelves who die natural deaths, ſo that among them, the dead have no other burying place than the ſtomachs of the living. All the world knows, that in many parts of the Eaſt-Indies, they uphold the barbarous cuſtom, of the women burning themſelves at the funeral of their huſbands, and though they are not by law obliged to do this, the inſtances of their failing to do it, are very rare, becauſe upon their declining it, they would remain, infamous, deſpiſed, and abhorred by every one. Among the Cafres, all the relations of a perſon who dies, are obliged to cut off the little finger of the left hand, and throw it into the grave of the deceaſed.

XVII. What ſhall we ſay, to the countenance, that has been given to Turpitude, by various nations?

tions? In Malabar, the women may marry as many huſbands as they pleaſe. In the Iſland of Ceylon, when a woman marries, ſhe is common to all the brothers of her huſband, and the conſorted parties, may divorce themſelves and contract a freſh alliance, whenever they pleaſe. In the kingdom of Bengal, all the new married women, thoſe of the firſt rank not excepted, before they are allowed to be enjoyed by their huſbands, are delivered up to the luſt of the bramins or prieſts. In Mingrelia, a Province of Georgia, where the people are Schiſmatic Chriſtians, among the compound of various errors prevailing there, adultery is conſidered as a thing indifferent, and it is very rare, that any of either ſex are faithful to their conſorts; it is true, that the huſband in caſe of catching the wife in the act of adultery, has a right by way of compenſation, to demand of her paramour a pig, which is conſidered as ample amends, and the criminal perſon is generally invited to partake of it.

SECT. VI.

XVIII. Was I to recite the extravagant ſuperſtitions prevailing in various places, the labour would be immenſe. It is very well known, that the antient Gentiles worſhipped the moſt deſpicable and vile animals. The goat was the deity of one nation, the tortoiſe of another, the beetle of

another, and the fly of another; even the Romans who were eſteemed the moſt poliſhed people in the world, were extremely ridiculous in matters of religion; St. Auſtin, in many parts of his Treatiſe, called, the City of God, upbraids them with it; and the moſt remarkable of their abſurdities in this reſpect was, their adopting ſuch an innumerable quantity of deities, to ſeparate and diſtinct charges; the protection of the harveſt, and the grain, belonged to twelve different Gods, each of whom, had his particular department. To guard the door of the houſe they had no leſs than three; the God Lorculos had the care of the wood, the Goddeſs Cordea that of the hinges, and the God Limentinus looked after the Pediment. St. Auſtin jocoſely remarks to them, that if each individual would appoint a porter, they would find him capable of doing much more than one of their Gods, for he would be able to execute this whole buſineſs better than three of them; and with greater ſecurity. Pliny (who runs into the oppoſite extreme of denying a deity or a Providence, or at leaſt of affecting to doubt there is a ſupreme Being,) in giving an account of the ſuperſtitious faith of the Romans, eſtimates the number of their deities to exceed the number of their people. *Quam obrem major cælitum populus, etiam quam hominum intelligi poteſt* (Lib. 1. cap. 6.) The computation is not aggravated, as every man according to his fancy appointed

pointed himſelf Houſhold Gods, to each of whom he conſigned a particular charge, and beſides this worſhipped all the other common Gods. The multifarious number may be inferred, not only from what St. Auſtin has told us, but from the ſame Pliny, who ſays, they erected temples and altars, to all the diſeaſes and misfortunes, with which mankind are viſited: *Morbis etiam in genera deſcriptis, et multis etiam peſtibus, dum eſſe placatas trepido metu capimus.* It is certain, that in Rome, there was a Temple erected to Fevers, and another to Ill Luck.

XIX. The modern idolators, are not leſs blind than the antient ones. The devil is worſhipped in his own proper name by many people. In Pegu, a kingdom in the Peninſula of India, although they worſhip God as the author of all good, they pay more adoration to the devil, who they believe to be the author of all evil. Some people in the train of the ambaſſador, whom Peter the Great, late Czar of Muſcovy, ſent to China, met in the way an idolatrous prieſt praying, and they aſked him who he worſhipped? to which he anſwered in a magiſterial tone, *I worſhip a God who the God you worſhip caſt down from heaven, but after awhile my God will throw your's down from heaven, and then will be ſeen great changes among the ſons of men.* They muſt in that region have had ſome

account of the fall of Lucifer, but they may wait long enough for a redeemer, if they ſtay till their deity returns to heaven. From as ridiculous a motive the Jedices, a ſect in Perſia, never curſe the devil, and that is, that one day or other he may make his peace with God, and then may revenge all the affronts they offer him.

XX. In the kingdom of Siam they worſhip a white elephant, and four Mandarines are appointed conſtantly to attend him, who ſerve him with his meat and his drink, in a veſſel of gold. In the Iſland of Ceylon they worſhipped a tooth which was pretended to have fallen from the mouth of God, but Conſtantine de Bergania, a Portugueſe, having got poſſeſſion of it, he burnt it, to the great diſgrace of the prieſts who had invented the fable. The Indians of Honduras worſhipped a ſlave, but neither the divinity nor the life of the poor creature laſted long, for he died within a year, after which, they made a ſacrifice of his body, and ſubſtituted another in his place; but their believing, that he who could not redeem himſelf from the confinement and reſtraint, in which by way of ſecurity they kept him, could make others happy, was ridiculous enough. In the Southern Tartary, they worſhip a man who they think is eternal, having been made to believe ſo by the artifices of the prieſts appointed to his ſervice. They only ſhew

him

him in a private place of the palace or temple, ſurrounded by a number of lamps, and they always by way of precaution, in caſe he ſhould die, keep another man ſecreted, who is much like him, that he may be ready to take his place, and ſeem, as if he was ſtill the ſame man. They call him Lama, which ſignifies Father eternal, and ſuch is their veneration for him, that their greateſt men procure by rich preſents a part of his excrements, which they put into a gold box, and wear it ſuſpended from their necks, as a precious relic. But no ſuperſtition appears to me more extravagant, than what is practiſed at Balia, an Iſland in the Indian Sea, to the Eaſtward of Jara, where every man has his ſeparate God, which he fixes upon juſt as his caprice dictates to him, either the trunk of a tree, a ſtone, or a brute, and many of them change their Gods every day, for they are allowed this liberty, and often worſhip for the day the firſt thing they meet going out of their houſes in a morning.

SECT. VII.

XXIII. What ſhall I ſay of the ridiculous hiſtorical tales, which are venerated in ſome nations, as irrefragable traditions? The Arcadians, compute their origin to be antecedent to the creation of the Moon. The people of Peru, maintain their

kings to be legitimate deſcendants from the ſun. The Arabs believe as an article of faith, the exiſtence of a bird, which they call Anca Megareb, of ſuch an enormous ſize, that its eggs are as big as large hills; which bird they ſay was afterwards curſed by their Prophet Handal for having inſulted him, and that it now lives retired in a certain inacceſſible Iſland. The credit of an imaginary heroe called Cherderles, is not leſs eſtabliſhed among the Turks; they ſay he was one of Alexander's captains, and that having made himſelf and his horſe immortal by drinking of the waters of a certain river, he now goes about exploring the world, and aſſiſting ſuch ſoldiers as invoke him; they ſeem very happy with this deluſion, and near a little Moſque appropriated to his worſhip, they ſhew the tombs of the nephew and the ſervant of this knight errand, and they add, that by their interceſſion, continual miracles are wrought in that quarter.

XXII. In ſhort, if you ſcrutinize country by country, the whole intellectual map of the globe, except only thoſe places where the name of Chriſt is worſhipped, you will find all this extenſive ſurface covered with blots and ſtains. Every country is an Africa to engender monſters; every Province an Iberia to produce poiſons; in all places, as in Lycia, they invent chimeras; and in all nations,

where

where the light of the goſpel is wanting, they are obſcured with as dark miſts, as formerly obſcured Egypt. There is no people whatever, who has not much of the barbarous. What reſults from this? why that the voice of the people is totally deſtitute of authority, becauſe we ſee it ſo frequently poſted on the ſide of error. Every one conſiders as infallible the ſentiment that prevails in his own country, upon this principle, that every body ſays ſo, and every body thinks ſo. Who are theſe every bodies? All the people in the world? not ſo, becauſe in other places, they think and ſay the contrary. But is not mankind the ſame in one place as in another? why then ſhould truth be more attached to the voice of this people, than of that people? why becauſe this is my country, and the other is a foreign one; good reaſoning.

SECT. VIII.

XXIII. I never obſerved, that the dogmatic writers, who in various manners, have concluſively proved the evident credibility of our holy faith, have introduced as one of their arguments, the conſent of many nations in their belief of thoſe myſteries; but have laid great ſtreſs, upon the conſent of men, eminent for their ſanctity and wiſdom. The firſt argument would be favourable to idola-

try, and the Mahomedan Sect; the ſecond cannot be anſwered, nor can it be uſed to militate on the other ſide; and in caſe they ſhould oppoſe to us the authority of the antient philoſophers, who have been the partizans of idolatry, the objection would be grounded on a falſe ſuppoſition, it being eſtabliſhed by irrefragable teſtimony, that thoſe philoſophers in matters of religion, did not think with the people. Marcus Varus, one of the wiſeſt of the Romans, diſtinguiſhed among the Antients three kinds of Theology, the Natural, the Civil, and the Poetical. The firſt exiſted in the minds of wiſe men; the ſecond was uſed to govern the religion of the people at large; the third was the invention of the poets; and of all the three, the philoſophers held only the firſt to be true. The diſtinction of the two firſt, had been pointed out by Ariſtotle, in the twelfth Book of his Metaphyſics, Cap. 8. where he ſays, that from the opinions of preceding ages which have been communicated to us reſpecting the Gods may be inferred, they held ſome things to be true, and others falſe, and that the laſt were invented for the uſe and civil government of the populace: *Cætera vero fabuloſe ad multitudinis perſuaſionem.* It is true, that although thoſe philoſophers were not of the ſame ſentiment with the people, they generally talked their language, as an oppoſite conduct would have been very hazardous, for whoever denied the plurality

of

of Gods, was looked upon as impious; as it happened to Socrates. The ſum of the whole of this is, that in the voice of the people was contained all the error; and that the little or much which exiſted of truth, was ſhut up and impriſoned in the minds of a few wiſe men.

XXIV. After all that has been ſaid, I ſhall conclude, by pointing out two ſenſes, in which only, and in no other whatever, is contained the truth of the maxim, "that the voice of the people is the voice of God." The firſt is, taking for the voice of the people, the unanimous conſent of all God's people, that is of the univerſal church, the which it is certain cannot err in matters of faith, not through any antecedent impoſſibility, which may be inferred from the nature of things, but by means of the interpoſition of the holy ſpirit, with which, according to the promiſe made by Chriſt, it will be conſtantly aſſiſted. I ſaid all God's people, becauſe a large portion of the church may err, and in fact did err, in the great Weſtern Schyſm, for the kings of France, Caſtile, Arragon and Scotland, acknowledged Clement the VIIth. for legitimate Pope, the reſt of the Chriſtian world adhered to Urban the VIth. but it is manifeſt that one of the two parties muſt be wrong, which may be conſidered as a concluſive proof, that even within the pale of

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the Chriſtian church, not only one, but ſeveral nations collectively may err in eſſentials.

XXV. The ſecond ſenſe in which the maxim ought to be held true, is, by taking for the voice of the people, the univerſal concurrence of all mankind, it appearing morally impoſſible, that all the nations of the world ſhould agree in adopting any one error; thus the conſent of the whole earth in believing the exiſtence of a God, is held by the learned, as a concluſive proof of this article.

VIRTUE

VIRTUE and VICE.

EVERY mortal (ſaid Philo as cited by St. Ambroſe, Lib. 1. of Cain and Abel, cap. 4.) has, within the little habitation of the ſoul, two females, the one chaſte but rigid and unpleaſant, the other wanton but ſoft and amorous. The firſt is the type of virtue, the ſecond of worldly delights.

II. The learned Jew paints virtue according to appearance at firſt ſight, or according to the opinion of the world, but not according to the truth; and ſo it comes to paſs, that virtue is commonly conceived to be all aſperity, and vice all deliciouſneſs; virtue is placed among thorns, and vice repoſing on beds of flowers: But this is an error, and of all the falſe opinions upheld by the blindneſs of the world, the moſt pernicious one. I ſhall endeavour in this diſcourſe to expoſe its falacy, by ſhewing, that even in this life, abſtracted from the rewards and puniſhments of that to come, by people's abandoning themſelves to the purſuit of criminal

criminal pleaſures, they are liable to more inquietudes, and experience more fatigues, than they would be expoſed to, by the practice of the moral and Chriſtian virtues. For this purpoſe, I ſhall make uſe of ſuch arguments as are furniſhed by natural reaſon and experience, without having recourſe to the ſentences of fathers, or the ſayings of philoſophers, the collection of which, might be ſwelled to a vaſt bulk, but whoever is not to be perſuaded by reaſon, will never be convinced by authority.

III. Could we but ſee the hearts of men, abandoned to a vicious courſe, the doubt would be ſoon removed; however, we may view them by reflection in the looking-glaſſes of their ſouls, of which their words and actions are the types. If you obſerve with attention theſe unhappy men, you will find, that no others betray ſuch perturbation in their countenances, ſuch inquietude in their actions, nor ſuch embarraſſment in their converſation; nor is this to be wondered at, there being many tormentors, who are continually diſturbing them in the enjoyment of their beloved pleaſures. That domeſtic enemy, that unavoidable, but unſavory gueſt, their own conſcience, with the nectar they drink, is conſtantly mixing the gaul they abominate.

IV. Tully

IV. Tully ſaid with energic propriety, that the crimes of wicked men, reflected in their own imaginations, are to them continual and domeſtic furies: *Hæ ſunt impiis aſſiduæ, domeſticæque furiæ* (Orat. pro Roſc) Theſe are the ſerpents and vultures, who gnaw in pieces the entrails of the wicked Ticius; theſe are the eagles who, tear the heart of the raſh Prometheus. Conſider the torments of a Cain, a fugitive from the world, and who if it were poſſible would fly from himſelf alſo; wandering through the woods and mountains, without ever having power to extract the dart which had pierced his breaſt, that is the memory of his crime; or like another wounded hind, under which image the great poet deſcribes the mortal inquietude of that enamoured queen.

——— *Silvas, ſaltuſque peragrat*
Dictæos, hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

V. Contemplate the anxieties of a Lamech, ſo violently preſſed by the repreſentation of the murder, or murders which he had committed, that wanting power to remain the repoſitory of his own ſecret, he throws it up like one who has ſwallowed poiſon, that excites a coughing or tickling in the throat, and runs the hazard of infamy and puniſhment, for the ſake only of enjoying a trivial and temporary relief. Plutarch relates of one

one Apolodorus, that the memory of his crimes, haunted him in his ſleep, for he dreamed every night, that after being quartered, his members were diſſolved in boiling water, and that while he ſuffered his martyrdom, his heart ſcreamed out, I am the cauſe and motive of theſe torments.

SECT. II.

VI. I acknowledge it to be true, that all men are not ſo ſuſceptible of interior remorſe, and that, as St. Paul expreſſes it, there are conſciences ſo cauterized, as to looſe all ſenſation; and hearts, which by a long habit of ſin are become petrified.

Sic læthalis hyems paulatim in pectora venit.

VII. O men! of all the moſt unhappy, this obdurance of the breaſt is a ſchirrous of the ſoul, for which, by appealing to miracles only, you can hope relief. Such people are apt to amuſe themſelves with the hope, that during this mortal life at leaſt, they ſhall paſs on with mirth and enjoyment, but how much are thoſe deceived who feed themſelves with ſuch hopes, for theſe are the people who experience the moſt toil. This will appear by a ſurvey of the three vices, within whoſe boundaries almoſt every evil lays diſtributed, to wit, ambition, avarice, and luxury.

VIII.

VIII. The ambitious man is the ſlave of all the world. Of the Prince that he may beſtow a place on him. Of his client becauſe he ſolicits him. Of other men for fear they ſhould put obſtacles in his way. His ſoul and body are in continual agitation, from an apprehenſion of the conſequences, with which the loſs of an inſtant of time may be attended, and he dreads all mankind, leſt ſome one by an accuſation, may occaſion all his ſolicitude to vaniſh in ſmoke. How forced are his looks, for he ſmiles on thoſe to whom he bears a mortal enmity. What labour does it coſt him to ſuppreſs thoſe vicious inclinations, that might throw obſtructions in the way of his manœuvres. All the other paſſions are the victims of the ruling one, and the vice of ambition like a tyrant maſter, adds to the torment which himſelf inflicts, by the prohibition of all thoſe pleaſures, that the inclination prompts to. He ſees one go to a comedy, another amuſe himſelf with innocent recreation, another go to a feaſt, and another to a ball, he ſees them all, and envies them all; for his paſſions though furious, may be compared to the winds, which are confined and ſhut up in the priſons of Eolus.

Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum clauſtra fremunt.

IX. When

IX. When he has obtained a place his cares do not leſſen, the object only of his anxiety being changed, and his attention is but tranſlated from the means of procuring his riſe, to the ſtudy of how he ſhall keep poſſeſſion of what he has acquired. He finds himſelf placed on a ladder, which he cannot aſcend without much fatigue, nor remain where he is ſituated without uneaſineſs, and where the dread of falling headlong terrifies him from deſcending. He finds the neceſſity of holding a tight rein on his depraved appetites increaſed, and is obliged to ride his vicious inclinations with a ſtronger curb. He is ſolicited by avarice, inſtigated by gluttony, and burns with incontinence, but ſtill obeys, although it is with reluctance, that paſſion which has the deſpotic rule of him. He would wiſh to cruſh by an unjuſt ſentence, the man who has offended him, but fears leaſt the injured perſon ſhould appeal to the king, or a ſuperior tribunal. He loves indolence, but if he relaxes in his application, all is loſt. He trembles at the thought of a change of adminiſtration, as the idea fills him with an apprehenſion of being left deſerted in the ſtreet, and never reads a News-Paper, without the terror of ſeeing an account of the death of his patron. Can a man lead a more miſerable life?

X. It

X. It is a known thing, that the covetous man is one of the devil's martyrs; or he may be compared to an Ancorite, who by his abſtinence and retirement, acquires merits, which may intitle him to a place in hell. His heart, divided between the deſires of keeping and acquiring, experiences a continual fever, mixed with a mortal cold, as he burns for other people's property, and trembles with the apprehenſion of looſing his own. He is hungry, but does not eat, he is thirſty, and does not drink, he is always needy, and his mind knows no repoſe. He is never free from alarms. A rat does not move in the ſilence of the night, without the noiſe filling him with apprehenſions, that a thief is breaking into his houſe. No ſtrong wind can blow, that in his imagination, does not threaten the wreck of one of his trading ſhips. He is continually meditating new hiding places for his treaſure, which he frequently viſits, doubtful of finding the money in the hiding place, but always ſure of finding his heart in the money. He views it with anxious concern, and ſometimes will not venture to touch it, leſt it ſhould crumble to aſhes between his fingers. Thus, fat in poſſeſſions, and a martyr to fears, his days paſs away, till, as it happened in the caſe of king Agag, the fatal hour of puniſhment arrives. Pinguiſſimus et Tremens. Can a man's life be more unhappy?

XI. If he ſeeks relief from laſciviouſneſs, he will find, that no vice loads a man with ſo much uneaſineſs, if the meanneſs of his diſpoſition, or the depravity of his appetite, determine him to purſue criminal pleaſures; in the inſtant are ſet before his eyes, the injuries it will be productive of, to the three articles, that are eſteemed the moſt valuable in this life, to wit, honour, health, and property. He goes from pitcher to pitcher, to ſatisfy his thirſt, till meeting with ſome infectious water, he poiſons his whole maſs of blood, by which means, his life is either endangered, or he is obliged to purchaſe the preſervation of it at a dear rate, and although he recovers his health, he will ſuffer in his reputation through life.

XII. If from the ampleneſs of his fortune, or the merit of his perſon, his purſuits are directed to objects in a higher ſphere, he will avoid part of the inconveniences before enumerated, to incur greater, which is ſhunning Scylla, and running upon Caribdis. Adventures of this kind, are full of alarms, inquietudes, and dangers. What anxieties await him pending the love ſuit? His eyes ſeek ſleep but find it not, for Jacob who was an honourable lover, experienced; and declared, that it was become a fugitive from his eyes. His heart longs for repoſe, but does not obtain it. In this manner he goes on, conceiving unhappineſs,

that

that he may bring forth misfortune. He is conſtantly wavering, in his determination, of what means he ſhall employ to accompliſh his end; he approves all that occur to him, and he rejects them all: *incertæ tanta eſt diſcordia mentis.* He trembles to think of the poſſibility of a repulſe. Love drags him forward, fear detains him. He finds the whole road of his courtſhip ſtrewed with perils, which upon his arrival at the ſummit of his wiſhes, will be multiplied, the hazardous inſtances in ſuch caſes, being many; but it ſeldom happens, that the injury is confined to a ſingle perſon, and it is next to a moral impoſſibility, that a man ſhould take ſo many ſteps without making a little noiſe, by which means, ſuſpicion will be awakened, and watching in the end, be rewarded with the diſcovery of truth; and although the purpoſe is accompliſhed, a man who commits inſults, and does injuries, is never free from alarms. What real pleaſure is a man capable of feeling, who cannot ſeparate the gratification of his lewd deſires, from the hazard that attends them? he cannot move a ſtep in proſecution of the crime, but the injured perſon, preſents himſelf to his imagination, with a dagger, or a piſtol in his hand; and this danger is conſtantly purſuing him, which ever way he turns himſelf; ſo that he is preciſely in the caſe of that man, who is in continual dread of loſing his life, and always ſees it hang ſuſpended by a ſingle thread before his

eyes, which is a ſtate, that God repreſents to his people as a terrible curſe: *Et erit vita tua quaſi pendens ante te. Timebis nocte, & die, & non credes vitæ tuæ.*

XIII. But admitting there are circumſtances where theſe apprehenſions do not exiſt, ſtill, it does not follow, that they are not attended with very ſerious inquietudes. Suppoſe that after enjoyment, a loathing ſhould enſue, which happens very frequently, and which actually did happen to Amnon with Thamar. You ſee in this caſe, for the ſake of a delicious moment, a diſagreeable obligation intailed upon a man for life. If he reſolves to break the nooſe, he expoſes himſelf to the rage of an abandoned woman, who finds herſelf neglected, runs mad, either through love or hatred, which are both equally dangerous. If his criminal affection continues, the impatience of not enjoying his beloved object with freedom, over-balances the ſatisfaction, which is afforded by a delight that he uſurps by ſtealth. In ſuch a ſituation, his bowels being gnawed by a furious envy, is unavoidable. But what if jealouſies ſhould ſteal in? Thoſe who have experienced the rigour of theſe furies well know, how much they exceed the moſt exquiſite criminal enjoyments, and that whole years of that falſe glory, is not equal to one day only of this hell. Reflect on what has been

ſaid,

ſaid, and then tell me, whether you can figure to yourſelf a ſtate more unhappy. St. Auſtin, who found himſelf ſo long entangled in the labyrinth of the three before-mentioned vices, is a good witneſs, that the diſh which they preſent to the appetite, is filled with putrefaction. Hear his words, when he addreſſes himſelf to God in the ſixth Book of his Confeſſions: *Inhiabam honoribus, lucris, conjugio, & tu irridebas, patiebar in ijs cupiditatibus amariſſimas difficultates.*

SECT. III.

XIV. Nor ought we to conclude, that thoſe few whoſe will with reſpect to other men, is the law, and whoſe libertaniſm there is no rein to check, navigate the ſea of vice without inquietude, for they alſo experience, the waters of that ſea to be extremely bitter. I mean ſovereign princes. Nero was lord of the earth, that is to ſay, maſter of the whole Roman empire. He gave the moſt latitudinary looſe imaginable to all his perverſe inclinations, and thoſe inclinations were irrefragable decrees. The weight of government, ſat very light on him, and far from ſupporting the ſtate on his ſhoulders, which by way of example, had been done by the beſt princes, he trod it under foot. All the world obeyed the ſceptre, and the ſceptre was the ſlave of appetite. He poſſeſſed whoever

he liked, and put to death whoever he hated. Love in the Emperor's hands, held its attainment and completion, and in the hands of his inſtruments, hatred held the knife. Paſſion could not carry a man to a more horrible pitch of extravagance, than he manifeſted, when he ſat fire to Rome, to indulge his cruelty, and which he ſhewed by the indignities he offered to his own ſex, to gratify his turpid deſires. All this to the diſgrace of human nature, was executed, by that monſter in iniquity.

XV. Who would believe, that this prince, who held the world in ſlavery to his arbitrary will, did not lead a joyous life? but according to Tacitus, ſo far from enjoying this happineſs, he was always poſſeſſed with terrors: *Facinorum recondatione nunquam timore vacuus.* And Suetonius adds, that unable to ſleep of nights, he uſed to run about the ſalons of his palace, tumbling heels over head like a man out of his ſenſes.

XVI. Tiberius, was equal to Nero in power, and very little inferior to him in wickedneſs; but with all his power, he led ſo uneaſy and diſturbed a life, that in order a little to relieve his heart from the oppreſſion of its anxieties, he could not avoid burſting forth in groans and words, that were expreſſive of his grief and uneaſineſs. So ſays Tacitus: *Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant,*

gebant, quin tormenta pectoris, ſuas que ipſe pœnas fateretur; and a little before, he relates a mournful exclamation of the Emperor's, in a letter he wrote to the Senate, where he ſays, my own crimes have transformed themſelves into executioners, in order to torment me. *Adeo facinora, atque flagitia ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant.*

XVII. Theſe anxieties of bad princes, are for the moſt part, occaſioned by their ſeeing themſelves univerſally abhorred, in conſequence of which, they live in continual dread of conſpiracies. They reflect. that out of ſo many people who hate them, ſome will be found, with ſufficient reſolution to execute, what had been previouſly concerted, ſo that amidſt all their pleaſures, they cannot feel more enjoyment, than is felt by a culprit, at the ſound of ſoft muſic, while he is waiting to hear the fatal ſentence. Dioniſius the tyrant of Syracuſe, in order to undeceive a perſon who envied his happineſs made uſe of the following expreſſive device. He invited the man to a banquet, and ſeated him immediately under the point of a ſword, that hung ſuſpended by a fine thread, very near to, and juſt ready to pierce his neck, and then informed him, that was preciſely the ſituation, in which his fortune had placed him.

XVIII. Over

XVIII. Over and above this anguish, which is common to all tyrants, there is no legitimate prince, however happy he may seem, without his serious and weighty inquietudes. Alexander cloathed with glory, afflicts himself, because Homer does not live to celebrate his actions. Augustus, who had always been the favourite of fortune, because she once slighted him in the case of the legions in Germany, passed much of his time, both night and day, in ravings and exclamations, as if he had been mad. Caligula, fancies he shall insure his safety, by spilling great quantities of blood, but is grieved when he reflects, that all the heads in Rome are not placed on one neck, and that he cannot strike them off at a blow. The ambitious prince groans, because he cannot make himself master of the whole world; the covetous one, because he cannot accumulate in his own treasury, the riches of other kingdoms; the vindictive one, because he cannot destroy a neighbouring prince who has offended him; the lascivious one, because his imagination represents to him some foreign object, exempt from the power of his will. Thus bitter afflictions, are annexed to exalted stations.

SECT. IV.

XIX. So certain and so general is the sentence, which wisdom puts in the mouths of all wicked men

men, when they arrive at the region where the deluſion ceaſes: *Laſſati ſumus in via iniquitatis, & perditionis, & ambulavimus vias difficiles.* Oh! how have we fatigued ourſelves in the way of perdition, our relaxation was wearineſs, our pleaſures anguiſh; unhappy we, who have run the courſe of life, not through delicious gardens, or pleaſant foreſts, but through thorns and briars, and intricate paths. This is the language of all the damned: *Talia dixerunt in inferno bi, qui peccaverunt.* Of all? yes they all ſay ſo, and they ſpeak the truth. All ſinners, have their little hell in this world. They all travel through Aſperities, to arrive at the precipice. They all drink the dregs of that cup, which according to David's deſcription our Lord holds in his hand: *Calix in manu domini vini meri plenus mixto: & inclinavit ex hoc in hoc, verumtamen fex ejus non eſt exinanita, bibent omnes peccatores terræ.* And it muſt be ſo, for according to the ſenſe and meaning of the text, the pure wine is for the ſaints of the land, where the enjoyment is pure: the mixed, is for the reſt of that country, where tribulation is mixed with happineſs, ſo that even in this life, there remains for ſinners, only the bitter and groſs dregs, and theſe they all drink. All, yes all, without excepting even thoſe, on whom, the good things of this world ſeem to be heaped up.

XX. For

XX. For the more clear underſtanding this matter, and to enforce the argument we are uſing, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that in this life, there is a heavy and mortal affliction, which is common to all men, but with reſpect to ſinners, it is peculiarly and moſt ſeverely felt, by thoſe who ſeem the moſt happy. This affliction, conſiſts in the reflection, that we muſt one day die. There is no doubt, but every living creature feels horror, upon arriving at that fatal paſs, and is naturally ſad, whenever it occurs to him, that he muſt unavoidably go through it; but he will be more affected beyond compariſon, who after having culled all the regales of fortune, has placed his whole happineſs in the enjoyment of them. Let us contemplate a man, rich, powerful, reſpected, and obeyed, and to whom nothing is wanting, neither for convenience or pleaſure, and to whom, let his appetites be ever ſo vague, fortune has denied nothing that may enable him to gratify them. Such a man, whenever he thinks that he muſt die, which is a thought that will ſometimes occur to him, without his being able to prevent it, cannot fail to be exceedingly afflicted. The thought of death, to whoever does not employ it, for the amendment of his life, becomes a torturer. Let us admit, that he is a determined Atheiſt, ſo blinded, as not to entertain the leaſt idea of the immortality of the ſoul, and conſequently, has not the leaſt apprehenſion

henſion, of what will befal him in the world to come; yet he will at leaſt conſider death, as a mercileſs, and a ſavage tyrant, who will deſpoil him of all that is moſt dear to him; of the property which he poſſeſſes, of the banquet he regales himſelf at, of the chace which diverts him, of the muſic which delights him, and of the concubine who he adores, all which, will be loſt at a ſtroke, never to be recovered any more. The greater the pleaſures are, which he enjoys, the more miſerable this conſideration will make him. The unhappy man, who is the outcaſt of fortune, and even he who is placed in a middle ſtation of life, feels the light conſolation, that death will relieve him from many vexations; but what comfort can he receive, who it will only rob of enjoyments. Death ſtrikes terror into all men, but to ſuch a one, it is terrible in extreme; every man is intenſely fond of his own particular happineſs, and in proportion to the ardour with which he loves it, will be his grief at looſing it. Such a man, when he thinks himſelf arrived at the ſummit of felicity, and knows no other than that which he poſſeſſes, with what anguiſh muſt he reflect. that the whole, without the leaſt reſerve, will be one day loſt.

XXI. This inevitable melancholy, as they advance in years, is much augmented in all the favourites of fortune. Life, after a man is arrived at his

his prime, may be from thence forward, truly and properly compared, to a chronic diſeaſe, which proceeds, leading a man to death by ſlow paces; or to ſpeak more properly, it is death implanted in our nature. Upon arriving at the period we have juſt mentioned, to wit, the prime of life, the powerful man, from thence-forward, in the ſtrength which he continues to loſe, and in the diſeaſes he proceeds to gain, finds conſtant information, that by little and little, the cottage of life is cruſhing and crumbling to nothing, by the weight of the temple of fortune. At this ſtage, he revolves in his mind, one by one, all the pleaſures he enjoys, and all the objects of his love, and each thought, tears from his heart a ſigh, when he reflects, that the time approaches, when he muſt bid them all a melancholy farewel. He proceeds to caſt another glance at death, and almoſt in the words of the unhappy King David oppreſſed with grief, exclaims againſt her in a ſentimental complaint, not ſo much for having cut the thread of his life, as for having ſeparated him by an eternal abſence, from all he eſteemed, and adored. *Siccine ſeperat amara mors.* O ſinners! who the world call happy, is this living? but let the world be undeceived, for ye are the people, who burden yourſelves, with whatever is moſt heavy, and hard to be born, which is contained in the ſtores of mortality; all your relaxation is fatigue,

all

all your pleasure is anxiety, all your nectar is poison.

XXII. For your comfort and advantage, although you cannot be a stranger to it, listen at present, to that sweet and sonorous voice, which, by the divine organ, was conveyed and dispersed over the whole face of the earth. Attend, for as you it is addressed; hear and profit by it. *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, & onerati estis, & ego vos reficiam vos.* Come unto me, all ye who labour, and are heavy laden with cares, for I will lighten your burdens, and give you relaxation and ease. These words, it is certain, are designed to reclaim sinners, and are addressed as a call, to those who are distant from Christ. These then are they, who lead a wearisome life. Christ invites them to come nearer him, that is, to embrace virtue; the virtuous then are those, who enjoy relaxation and ease. Thus you see, both the points I am attempting to prove, are supported by evangelical authority.

SECT. V.

But having demonstrated the first point, by natural reason and experience, I will proceed to do the same by the second. And first of all, I ought to acknowledge, that the beginnings of a virtuous life, are toilsome. *Ardua prima via est*; and more

especially

eſpecially, to thoſe who have been a long time under the dominion of their paſſions. Vicious habits, are enemies, which in their firſt attacks, wage cruel war, but their force declines daily, and ſometimes, by a miracle of grace, they are laid proſtrate at the firſt onſet. The flight of a vicious man from ſin, is in all reſpects, like the eſcape of the Hebrews from the land of Egypt. How dejected were they, when, with the Red Sea in their front, they ſaw the Egyptian army at their backs. How haughty were the Egyptians, how deſponding were the Hebrews. They are juſt on the point of treating to ſurrender, when Moſes, exalting his voice, ſaid to the people, now Iſrael, advance boldly into the gulph, for the Lord has undertaken to defend you. They obey, and upon ſetting their feet in the water, the Sea divided. The troops of Pharoah purſue them in crouds. What pride poſſeſſed the Egyptians, what fear the Hebrews. However, the laſt proceed with trembling pace, till they reach the oppoſite ſhore; upon arriving there, they turn round, and look at whence they came from, and they then perceive, Pharaoh and all his hoſt are buried in the Red Sea. Their grief is converted to happineſs, and their groans to ſongs of joy.

XXIV. Exactly like this, is the flight of a ſinner from vice. Egypt is the criminal ſtation. The enemies who purſue the fugitive ſinner are his

vicious

vicious inclinations, of which, he was a long time the ſlave: theſe are ſtrong, he is feeble. The firſt aſſault is furious. Moſes is the virtue which animates him. The ſinner at laſt, breaks through a ſea of difficulties, and although it requires more perſeverance in ſome to compleat the good work, than in others, he ultimately obtains the ſatisfaction, of ſeeing all his paſſions drowned. He gains footing on the oppoſite ſhore, and what follows? the ſame that happened to the Hebrews, he burſts forth in ſongs of joy. Afterwards, in purſuing his road to the Land of Promiſe, he is now and then, upon the way, aſſaulted by enemies, that is, by ſome temptations, but they are overcome, as Moſes overcame the Amalekites, by lifting the hands to Heaven, under which figure, is implied the force and efficacy of prayer. Sometimes he alſo meets with bitter waters, that is to ſay tribulations, but a miraculous wood ſweetens them; for the croſs, or paſſion of our Saviour, makes them palatable. From Mara or Marath, a place whoſe name is uſed to expreſs bitterneſs, on account of its nauſeous waters, he makes the tranſition to Elim, a ſituation, which is both pleaſant and delightſome.

XXV. Thus it ſucceeds with the ſinner, who fugitive from vice, puts himſelf under the divine protection, which never fails thoſe who ſolicit it: but to be uniform to what I propoſed, it will now be

be neceſſary, to conſider virtue in its natural ſtate, and abſtracted from the extraordinary aids, with which it is aſſiſted by grace.

SECT. VI.

The ſuperlative Mount of Virtue, is formed the reverſe of all other mountains. In the material mountains, the ſkirts are pleaſant, and the tops all aſperity, therefore in aſcending them, the pleaſant part diminiſhes, and the dreary part augments. On the contrary, the ſkirts of the Mount of Virtue are diſguſting, and the eminence grateful. He who would arrive at it, muſt expect at firſt ſetting out, to meet with nothing but rocks, thorns, and thickets, but as he advances in his courſe, the aſperity diminiſhes, and he begins to diſcover the pleaſant part; and at length, on arriving at the top, he ſees nothing but beautiful flowers, regaling plants, and chryſtal fountains.

XXVII. The firſt paſſages, are exceſſively laborious and ſlippery: *per inſidias iter eſt, formaſque ferarum*; he is courted by the ſongs of the ſyrens, from the ſea of the world; he is terrified in ſome parts of the mountain, by the roaring of lions. He caſts a wiſhful look on the ſmooth ſurface of the valley, and he contemplates with dread, the top of the mountain, to which he aſpires. Freed from

from the priſon of ſin, ſtill, in his paſſions he wears his fetters, the weight of which, together with the difficulty of the road, render his progreſs ſlow and toilſome. He hears juſt behind him, the ſoft murmurs of his criminal pleaſures, which accoſt him as they did St. Auſtin, and ſay, is it poſſible that you can abandon us? *Dimittis de nos:* is it poſſible you can take your leave and abſent yourſelf from us for ever? *Et a momento iſto non erimus tecum ultra in æternum.* He however proceeds on, though a little dejected, and now and then meets a rub in the way, which cauſes him to ſtumble; but now he begins to find the path leſs difficult, and the clamours of earthly delights, make leſs impreſſion on him, becauſe he hears them at a greater diſtance. Juſt ſo St. Auſtin experienced it: *Et audiebam eas jam longè minus quam dimidius, veluti a dorſo muſitantes.* Having gone a little further, he begins to diſcover the road plain and ſmooth, and although now and then the force of his antient habits, cauſes him to think of the pleaſures he has enjoyed, and the difficulty of forſaking them, the ſtroke is ſo feeble, that it makes no impreſſion: *Cum diceret mihi conſuetudo violenta: putas ne ſine iſtis poteris? Sed jam tepidiſſimè hoc dicebat.*

XXVIII. He arrives at laſt, at the ſuperior part of the mountain, where he beholds a beauti-

ful, and an agreeable plain. The ſweat and tears with which he watered the ſkirts, he finds have fertilized the ſummit, for here he obtains an abundant harveſt, far exceeding what is produced from cultivation and prolix labour. This is hid from the eyes of the world, who inſtead of conſidering him as enjoying a happy retirement at the top of the mountain, conclude, he is placed in an almoſt inacceſſible and arduous ſtation. They think he cannot enjoy an inſtant of repoſe, imagining the ſituation he inhabits, to be a field, where the elements engage with the utmoſt fury, and where the tempeſts rage with their greateſt force and rigour. But it fares with him, as with one who ſcales the height of Olimpas, who afterwards, enjoys a climate of uninterrupted ſerenity, where the air is not diſturbed with the moſt ſlight agitation, and where the tranquility is ſo tranſcendant, that characters written in aſhes expoſed to the open air, will continue legible for years together. There you always look down upon the clouds, and the fulminations burſt on the ſkirts, without ever incommoding the eminence. At the ſame time, thoſe who dwell in the neighbouring vales, conclude, if information or experience has not undeceived them, that it is ever obſcured by gatherings, and continually ſcorched by the rays of lightning.

XXIX. Juſt

XXIX. Juſt ſo the difficulties of life, and the ſtorms of fortune, fall on thoſe who inhabit the humble vallies of the world, but not upon him who has aſcended the Mount of God; the fat mountain as David calls it. But with all this, ſickneſs, grief, loſs of goods, perſecution, ignominy, and other calamities, are they not common to the juſt, and to the unjuſt? and are they not in ſome degree acquired by the firſt, by ſilence, retirement, watching, prayer, diſcipline, faſting, and other penalties? It is all true, but theſe are clouds that are ſeen at a diſtance, and only appear on the ſides of Olympus, but never riſe to the top; that is, they never attain the power of inquieting the ſublime part of the ſoul.

XXX. I don't mean to inſinuate, that juſt men are inſenſible; for this would favour of the extravagance of the Stoics, who pretend, that in the workſhops of virtue, you may transform men to marble. The virtuous have their ſufferings, but they don't ſit ſo heavy on them, as they do on the delinquents, and the inquietudes which they both experience, are felt by the delinquent in their full vigour: by the virtuous only partially. You may diſtinguiſh the ſpirit of the juſt man and the ſinner, as you would the elements of air and earth. The earth in all its regions, is expoſed to the injuries of the other elements. The inferior por-

tion of the air only is ſo expoſed; which is the theatre of vapours and exhalations, but the ſenſible alterations do not reach, what is called the ſuperior region of the air. There the temperature is obſerved to be always equal, there the Heavens are diſplayed in a conſtant ſerenity, and there is always enjoyed an atmoſphere, chryſtaline and pure.

SECT. VII.

XXXI. But let us ſcrutinize with the greateſt exactneſs, the temporal conveniences of virtue. Health, honour, and property, which eſſentially contribute to temporal felicity, are of great importance in this matter, if the whole of it does not conſiſt in the enjoyment of them; and conſidered with reſpect to theſe contingents, the virtuous man has much the advantage of the vicious one. No one is ignorant, that honour is the legitimate offspring of virtue, for which reaſon, the Romans, when they built them, joined the temples together, that were appropriated to the adoration of thoſe endowments, which they worſhipped as deities, ſo that the only way by which you could enter the Temple of Honour, was through the Temple of Virtue. The very people who ſhun the practice of virtue, eſteem and reverence it, and the bleſſings of health and long life, on account of the regu-

larity

larity with which he lives, are more likely to be attained by the virtuous man, than by the vicious one, who by his debaucheries, ruins his health, and curtails his exiſtence. Property finds a good ſteward in the œconomy of virtue, who takes care of and preſerves it, by avoiding ſuperfluities. Solomon expreſſed the whole, when he ſaid, that the obedient to the divine mandates, held long life in one hand, and in the other honour and property: *Longitudo dierum in dextera ejus, & in ſiniſtra illius divitiæ, & gloria.* (Prov. 3.) Now, even ſuppoſing the juſt man to enjoy no other advantages over the vicious one, is not his condition much to be preferred?

XXXII. But it has others. The tranquility, and ſweetneſs, which is adminiſtered to the ſoul by a good conſcience, places in a very eminent degree, the fortune of the juſt, ſuperior to that of the ſinner. This is a bleſſing of little bulk, but of great value: a precious ſtone, which within ſmall dimenſions, contains great and rich qualities. The conſcience is the mirror of the ſoul, and it happens to the juſt man, and to the ſinner, when they look in the glaſs, as it happens to the handſome, and the ugly woman, when they view themſelves in the chryſtal; the handſome is pleaſed, becauſe ſhe ſees perfections, the other is ſad, becauſe ſhe obſerves nothing but blemiſhes. The condi-

tion of the ſinner is even worſe than that of the ugly woman, for ſhe, if ſhe pleaſes, may run from the glaſs, but the ſinner cannot do this; for although he ſhould not preſent himſelf before the mirror, the mirror will preſent itſelf before him, and the underſtanding cannot ſhut his eyes, when the memory preſents to it the images of a man's evil deeds. In that ſtate, the ſinner is filled with horror inſtead of delight, for his deſire forſakes him, and the blemiſh remains by itſelf. In addition to this, the ſinner at ſuch a conjuncture, is made unhappy by the reflection, that his infamies may be laid open to the world; at this thought, the inevitable torture of ſhame, and the puniſhment of the law, terrify him by turns. The juſt man, on the contrary, has nothing to fear. If he hides his actions from the world, it is not from the dread of their being obſerved, but to avoid the hazard of their being applauded. He contemplates them alone, and if he is ſo happy as to find that they are all good, he receives that pure pleaſure, which the ſacred Chronologer, even in God himſelf, paints as an accidental glory: *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona.*

XXXIII. The difference between the juſt and the unjuſt man, is not leſs, when fortune in diſguſt ſheds its reverſes, or heaven is ſevere by viſiting him with tribulations. The ſinner loſes his property,

property, his beloved woman dies, he receives an injury from some body, which it is out of his power to revenge. What relief does he find? None: he raves, he storms, he burns, he neither eats, drinks, nor rests; his symptoms are worse than the disease, and sometimes so violent, as to oblige him to take to his bed, and deprive him of life; and his passions often rise to such a degree of ferocity, as to excite him to lay violent hands on himself. On the contrary, the first thing the just man does under similar circumstances, is to lift his eyes to Heaven, and whether he considers the tribulation as a just punishment for some crime he has been guilty of, or as a visitation for the exercise of his patience, he trusts, it will all turn out for his benefit; he knows the stroke comes from a friendly hand, and he knows also, that for his own good he is wounded; he not only is reconciled, but kisses the rod. Thus you see, by an admirable metamorphose, his heaviness is converted to satisfaction; and that what is poison to a wicked man, becomes balsam to a just one: for, *Diligentibus Deum omnia co-operantur in bonum.*

XXXIV. Who, upon a view of what we have enumerated and urged on this head, will not be convinced, that even in this life, the lot of the just man is incomparably, better than that of the vicious one; that tranquility and temporal convenience,

venience, are only to be met with in the paths of virtue, and that the field of vice, under the deluſive appearance of flowers, produces nothing but thorns.

XXXV. There now remains but one argument for me to ſolve, and that is taken from the words of Chriſt in St. Matthew, where our great maſter aſſures us, the road is broad, that is, eaſy, which leads to perdition; and that the path is narrow, that is, toilſome, which leads to life immortal.

XXXVI. I ſay then, that before we proceed further, it will be proper to reconcile this text with the one before quoted, where our Saviour invites ſinners to purſue the paths of virtue, and propounds to them relief and eaſe, upon a ſuppoſition, that they are crippled and bor'n down by the weight of ſin: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis*, &c. and it is alſo neceſſary, to compound this with that ſweet expreſſion, uſed in another place, when he intimates to us, that his yoke is eaſy and his burden light; and we ſhould likewiſe harmonize with it, what David teaches us alſo, which is, that the road of the divine precepts is broad, and that the precepts themſelves are ſo likewiſe: *Latum mandatum tuum nimis.* In fine, this text ſhould be underſtood in a ſenſe, that is not repugnant to reaſon, or experience.

XXXVII. The

XXXVII. The ſolution is eaſy, if we ſay, that grace reconciles and ſoftens, that which is hard and difficult to nature; and the ſame yoke, which is heavy to be bor'n by mere natural powers, is made light, when the divine aid concurs and lends its aſſiſtance. And this is the manner, in which the father's commonly reconcile thoſe texts.

XXXVIII. It may alſo be ſaid, by way of anſwer, that the redeemer ſpeaks only of the firſt paſſages or entrance into the one and the other path, ſo that the path of virtue, at its entrance, is toilſome and laborious, but afterwards becomes eaſy; on the contrary, the path of vice is eaſy at the beginning, and toilſome at the end. The context gives reaſon for this conſtruction, for Chriſt, when he is exciting men to purſue the paths of virtue, deſcribes all the difficulty as placed at the firſt paſſages: *Intrate per anguſtam portam*, ſays, St. Matthew, which according to St. Luke, is: *Contendite intrare per anguſtam portam*, which amounts to the ſame thing, as if he had ſaid, in the entrance lies all the difficulty; therefore take courage, preſs forward, fight, *contendite*: to conquer the obſtruction, which you find in the narrowneſs of the door.

XXXIX. So it is, that this door is exceeding ſtrait, and the newly converted is preſſed by the power

power of its hinges, that the ill habits he has imbibed may be ſqueezed out, and not only the ſkin is grazed by the preſſure, but ſometimes pieces of fleſh alſo are torn off, and left in the entrance. But the difficulty of this tranſit once conquered, the way by little and little grows wider, till at laſt, it is extended to a delightſome, and a ſpacious valley.

Largior hic campos æther, & lumine veſtit,
Purpureo, ſolemque ſuum ſua ſydera norunt.

XL. The path of vice is very differently formed, and may be compared to a paſſage or cave, which according to the naturaliſts, is fabricated as a place of ſafe retreat by the Rat of India. This ſagacious animal, knowing the enmity the dragon bears him, and knowing alſo, the inſufficiency of his own ſtrength to reſiſt him, not only defends himſelf, but conquers his enemy by the following ſtratagem. He makes two entrances to his cave, the one ſmall and proportioned to the bulk of his own body, the other wide at the ſurface, but which he draws narrower by degrees, till at the bottom, it is but juſt wide enough to admit of his paſſing through. The uſe of this place is as follows: When the little animal finds himſelf purſued by that voracious beaſt, he flies to his cave, which he enters at the wide mouth, not doubting

but

but the dragon will follow him, who eager for his prey, the large aperture being ſufficiently wide to admit his whole body, plunges in, but as it inſenſibly becomes narrower and narrower, the dragon, who preſſes violently on, finds himſelf in the end ſo ſtraitened, as not to be able, either to retreat, or advance; the rat, as ſoon as he perceives this, ſallies out of the narrow paſſage, and in the rear of the dragon, entering the wide one, revenges himſelf upon him much at his leiſure, converting him into a regale for his appetite, and food for his reſentment.

XLI. The ſtratagem of this little animal, exactly reſembles that, which the devil practices upon men. He diſplays to him the road of vice, very broad and commodious at the entrance; the unhappy man, lured by this appearance, enters without ſuſpicion, and in the conſequence, becomes a prey to his criminal pleaſures. The road, by little and little, grows narrower; one care oppreſſes him on one ſide, and another on the other; ſickneſs and old age, which are very nearly allied together, come on; his limbs begin to contract, and the uſe of them to forſake him; fear, ſolicitude, grief, and heavineſs, preſs upon him more and more every day, till he is put in ſuch a ſtrait, that even the ſoul with its ſpiritual nature is unable to ruminate or reflect on: by this progreſſion, the ſinner, in the

the end, arrives at the ſummit of anguiſh, and at that unhappy ſtation, from whence it is impoſſible to recede: *Ubi nulla eſt redemptio*, and where he'll be eternally food for that ravenous ſerpent, whoſe voracity, and thirſt of blood is never ſatiated: *Mors depaſcet eos*, which Cardinal Hugo expounds: *Diabolus depaſcet eos.*

XLII. This remarkable difference and oppoſition between virtue and vice, was not hid from the antients, for the light of natural reaſon, was ſufficient to acquire this knowledge; and Virgil has painted beautifully, the diſtinction between the one and the other path, in the following verſes.

Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua collem,
Difficilemque aditum primum ſpectantibus offert,
Sed requiem præbet feſſis in vertice ſummo.
Molle oſtentat iter via lata; ſed ultima meta
Precipitat captos, volvitque per ardua ſaxa.

Exalted

Exalted and Humble FORTUNE.

THOSE were blind themſelves, who feign'd fortune to be blind, and they were unjuſt who accuſed her of partiality. This error is corrected by religion, when it teaches us, that what is meant by the word Fortune, is nothing elſe but the Divine Providence, which is all eyes, and proceeds in every thing from the juſteſt motives. But although the error is corrected in the eſſential, the deception is not ſo effectually diſpelled, but there is ſtill left remaining, a faint appearance of the principle. The complainers of fortune, compute the inequality of men's lots, according to the greater or leſs parade and figure which they make among their fellow creatures, and ſeeing that in a great meaſure, this inequality is not proportioned to men's merits, the wicked attribute it to the chimerical force of accident, the idolators to the caprice of a blind deity, and the true believers, to the diſpoſing will of a ſupreme Providence.

II. Theſe laſt conclude well, but they ſuppoſe ill, for thus it is; the circling wheel of fortune, and

and all its movements, are directed by a divine hand, and the raiſing up ſome, and caſting down others, is ſo ordered and regulated, with the moſt wiſe deſign. It is alſo certain, (and this reflection is of infinite importance) that with reſpect to many, we ſee but one half of the wheel's turning, the remainder of its circuit, being reſerved for completion in the other world. We obſerve, that fortune raiſes ſome, and never lowers them, and that it caſts down others without ever raiſing them. What is this? Nothing more, than that Providence, in this mortal life, gives the wheel but half a turn; the round is concluded in the other hemiſphere, ſo that thoſe who riſe here, go down there, and thoſe who deſcend here, are there mounted up. This is the moſt ordinary courſe, although there is no rule without an exception.

SECT. II.

III. But ſuppoſing what I have juſt premiſed is admitted, notwithſtanding all the ſolutions and precautions we can advert to, a ſerious and pernicious deceit continues to impoſe on, and in ſome ſort, govern the world, which is derived, as I have already obſerved, from thoſe who conclude well, but ſuppoſe badly. In the diſtribution they make of happy, and unhappy people, they ſuppoſe an inequality, which in reality does not exiſt, nor is it

to

to be found in the fortunes of men. He who occupies posts of dignity, he who inhabits a magnificent palace, he who poſſeſſes great riches, and much more he whoſe temples are adorned with a crown, is reputed the happieſt of men. On the contrary, he who beneath an humble roof, ſcarce known to the world, who to ſubſiſt and enable him to live, has no more than is abſolutely neceſſary, is conſidered as unhappy. At leaſt, the fortune of this laſt, is judged to be as much inferior to that of the other, as a little fountain is to the whole ſtock of waters contained in the Nile.

IV. Very different was the ſentiment of the oracle of Delphi, who, when he was aſked by Gyges, King of Lydia, who was the happieſt man in the world? replied, Agalus Pſophidius, the poſſeſſor of a little eſtate, in a confined corner of Arcadia, is the moſt happy man who inhabits the globe. The King, who expected to be told that himſelf was the happieſt man, remained equally confounded and ſurprized.

V. Agathocles, was a monſter of fortune, from being the ſon of a poor potter, of the City of Regio; he roſe to be ſovereign of Sicily, with all which, I believe, that by comparing his fortune with that of his father Carcinus, we ſhall find, that the father was the more happy man of the

two.

two. It is certain, he did not live in that continual uneaſineſs, which agitated the whole life of Agathocles, nor did he ſuffer any grief ſo intenſe, or of ſo long duration, as that of Agathocles, which was occaſioned by the death of his ſons, who were barbarouſly beheaded by his own ſoldiers.

VI. Pliny, in his ſeventh Book, ſpeaking of thoſe Romans, who, in ſome inſtances were the moſt remarkable favourites of fortune, ſuch as the dictator Scylla, the two Metellus's, and Octavius Auguſtus, points out at the ſame time, ſo many counterpoiſes to their good luck, as to leave it doubtful, whether the ſcale of their adverſity, or of their proſperity preponderated.

VII. The labour would be infinite, if by turning over hiſtory, you was to inſtance all thoſe, to whom the hand of fortune, has alternately dealt the moſt cruel blows, and adminiſtered the moſt tender gratifications; nor would ſuch an enquiry be of any avail to our purpoſe, becauſe every one will readily grant, there is no aſylum in this world, to protect us from the rigours of fate, nor is there any privilege annexed to high dignity, which exempts it from the juriſdiction of misfortune. The beſt method then is, to weigh the one and the other fortune, the exalted and the humble, and eſtimate them, according to what, in their common

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and ordinary ſtate, they are found to contain in themſelves, abſtracted from any extraordinary accidents, either favourable or adverſe.

SECT. III.

VIII. I ſay then, that humble fortune according to its intrinſic value, if it does not exceed, is at leaſt equal to the exalted. In order to give at once, a clear and a ſolid proof of this fact, which may ſeem a myſtery, it ſhould be underſtood as a certain truth, that riches don't conſtitute happineſs in men, in proportion to their material magnitude, but in proportion to what is enjoyed of them, either with reſpect to convenience, or the pleaſure they occaſion. What is a rich man the better, for having his table covered with a variety of delicate eatables, if he has loſt his appetite? with all his dainties, he cannot be ſaid to regale himſelf; and it fares much better in point of gratification with a poor man, who eats of a coarſe diſh, if his palate embraces it with earneſtneſs.

IX. The compariſon of reliſh with reſpect to food, may be applied to all our other ſenſes and faculties with reſpect to their objects, for let theſe be gratified and delighted to whatever degree you can ſuppoſe, the pleaſure produced in every individual, will tally with the diſpoſition of the organ;

and therefore, the greater or leſſer degree of felicity of the ſubject, in the uſe of thoſe objects, ſhould be meaſured, not by the entative magnitude which is contained in them, but by the delight they afford. This being the caſe, you will find, that vaſt riches do not furniſh to an opulent man, greater enjoyments, nor turn aſide from him, more vexations, than is afforded to, and diverted from a poor man with his ſcanty means; and you will conclude, thoſe are not more happy than theſe, and that conſequently the fortunes of both are equal.

X. But how are we to know the hearts, and what paſſes in the breaſts of thoſe, in the one and the other ſtate? Nothing is more eaſy. Nero erected a temple to fortune, which he built with tranſparent ſtones, found in his days in Capadocia; ſo that from the outſide, although the doors were ſhut, you could ſee all that paſſed within the temple. And nature has ſo made mankind, that from without, you may diſcern their good or bad interior ſituation, their looks for this purpoſe ſupplying the uſe of tranſparent ſtones, and their lips, expreſſing their pleaſures and vexations. Obſerve, ſays, Seneca, (Epiſt. 80.) through the chryſtal of their countenances, the receſſes of the boſoms, of the rich and the poor: *compara inter ſe pauperum, & divitum vultus*, and you will moſt frequently find

find the laſt more chearful than the firſt: *ſæpius pauper, & fidelius ridet*: In this inſtance he gives the preference, to the condition of the poor; in other reſpects he ſuppoſes the benefits of both ſtations to be equal: obſerve, ſays he, the greateſt part of the poor people, and you will find, that they are in no reſpect more ſad or oppreſſed than the rich: *Primum aſpice quanto major pars ſit pauperum, quos nihilo notabis triſtiores, ſolicitioreſque divitibus.* (In conſolat. ad Helviam)

XI. Saint Auſtin found great benefit, from a reflection he made, upon ſeeing a Mendicant Friar go through a village in the ſtate of Milan, to all appearance quite chearful and happy. He compared his own fortune with that of the poor man, and found that he was joyous, and himſelf was oppreſſed; that he was free from apprehenſions, and himſelf full of terrors: *Et certé ille lætabatur, ego anxius eram; ſecurus ille, ego trepidus*, and from thence he concluded, the fortune of that Mendicant was much better than his own: *Nimirum quippe ille felicior erat.* (Confeſs. lib. 6. cap. 6.)

XII. This is viewing things according to what they are in their own nature. To eſtimate the felicity of any man, you ſhould not conſider the goods he poſſeſſes, but the enjoyment he receives from the poſſeſſion of them. Although the rich

man always ſits down to a ſplendid banquet, a poor man regales himſelf better than him, if, as is moſt commonly the caſe, he knows better what he eats. No man will ſay, that the exiſtence of riches without their uſe, is of any value. It is neceſſary, in order to reliſh their ſweets, that you ſhould expend them. They are a good of ſuch a nature, that they can only be enjoyed when you part with them. He who keeps his gold in a cheſt, may receive ſome ſatisfaction in contemplating, that he has it at his command, but that is much inferior to the inevitable chagrin, which attends his continual care and anxiety. Horace chanted wiſely, who held that convenience conſiſted more in the want, than in the poſſeſſion of ſuch goods, which their concern for the preſervation of, kept people in conſtant alarms and terrors, night and day, leaſt a thief ſhould break in and ſteal them, an unfaitful ſervant purloin them, or a fire conſume them.

An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
Lib. 1. *Formidare malos fures, incendia, ſervos*
Sat. 1. *Ne te compilent fugientes, hoc juvat? Horum*
Semper ego optarim pauperimus eſſe bonorum.

XIII. Quickſilver occaſions continual tremors to him who works it in the mines; gold and ſilver to him who keeps and turns them over in a cheſt,

cheſt. There is no doubt, but the pleaſure of finding himſelf rich, is greateſt in a covetous man, but his care and anxiety exceed alſo in proportion to it. Beſides this, he is not ſo much gratified by the goods he enjoys, as he is made uneaſy by the deſire of poſſeſſing thoſe he is not maſter of. There is always in his heart an immenſe vacuum, as obnoxious to his avarice, as a vacuum in all bodies is to nature, and his thirſt is of the dropſical kind, ſo that the more he drinks, the more he craves.

XIV. Upon a ſuppoſition then, that inſtead of convenience, there is evil and vexation in the mere poſſeſſion of riches, let us proceed to take a view of the benefits that may reſult from their uſe. And firſt, riches to a very large amount, are exceedingly ſuperfluous for furniſhing the accommodations of life. If a man, poſſeſſed of a few thouſands of crowns, can find ſufficient to purchaſe all that can be reaſonably deſired, of what uſe are the millions? To what purpoſe, ſhould he, who finds water ſufficient for all his occaſions in a little fountain, bring a river into his houſe. He would acquire nothing by ſuch an act, but the hatred and indignation of thoſe, who ſee, that without utility to himſelf, a man monopolizes a ſtock of water, ſufficient to accommodate a whole town, by doing which, he expoſes himſelf to the malicious deſigns that a wicked and perverſe perſon may form to

take away his life, in hopes that by perpetrating the fatal deed, he might become maſter of his property; and it is certain, that many perſons from ſuch a motive only, have fallen victims to the knife or to poiſon; ſo that an exceſs of dobloons to the owner, are rather things of weight, than things of worth. I mean, that inſtead of a convenience, they are dangerous, and an evil of life.

XV. But though they are not neceſſary to furniſh the reaſonable accommodations of life, they may be ſerviceable to purchaſe the pleaſures of it. Upon this head much may be ſaid. The natural deſires of the greateſt part of mankind, are fixed upon ſuch objects, that with a moderate income, they are able to ſatisfy all their real wants. Meat and drink that might be ſtiled regaling, the diverſion of hunting, and frequent amuſement at play, may be all attained with a moderate portion of thouſands. Of what advantage are immenſe riches to him, whoſe whole delight is centered in the cup and the diſh, if he cannot eat or drink more than the proportion of a ſingle man, and if urged by his gluttony, he ſtrives to cram down as much as would ſerve two, he would ſoon deſtroy his health, and not be able to eat a ſufficient quantity to ſatisfy half a man. A perſon ſpending his ſubſtance, in diverſions that are not ſuited to his genius or inclination, is throwing it away intirely. The

ſweetneſs

ſweetneſs or ſoothing of muſic, is allowed to be the greateſt enchantment exiſting in the world, but what charms has it to him who cannot reliſh it? The vaſſals of Anteus, an ancient King of Scythia, having taken Yſmenias, the famous Theban muſician, a priſoner in war, preſented him to their maſter as a prize of great value; Anteus after hearing him awhile, declared, that the neighing of his horſe ſounded better to him than all the fine tones of Yſmenias. Nor ſhould we underſtand, that the want of muſical feeling is confined to one ſingle barbarous genius, for not only the tygers fly from the lyre, but many cultivated ſpirits are deaf as adders to the charms of muſic. It is told of Juſtus Lipſius, that he abhorred muſic, and that his whole delight was in flowers and dogs. Many men are inſenſible of the recreation afforded by harmony, and thoſe who are not, for the moſt part, content themſelves with a coarſe ſort of muſic, which may be had at a cheap rate, and often for nothing. The remarks we have made on muſic, may be applied generally to all other kinds of amuſement. How many are there, who cannot endure ſo much as to be in company with, or to converſe with women. Flowers which are the moſt beautiful production of nature, and with which the fields are cloathed with more ſplendor and gaiety than Solomon in all his glory, to ſome people, are not only ungrateful, but noxious alſo.

There have been thoſe, who the fragancy of a roſe has cauſed to fall into a fainting fit. Cardinal Eſfrondati, in his Curſo Philoſophica, relates of another Cardinal, that during the whole time of the ſpring, he kept a watch at the door, to prevent a roſe being brought into his houſe. Spacious gardens afford but a ſlender delight to abundance of men, and to many, not even that ſlender one; beſides this, in time it becomes a ſickening amuſement, which with regard to the gardens of others may be removed, but not with regard to his own, for that being always in his view, he comes at laſt to loath the ſight of it.

SECT. V.

XVI. Thus with reſpect to many individuals, all that is attracting, is comprehended in objects of little value. It is true, however, that if you could collect all theſe into one heap, they would amount to ſomething conſiderable. But to what end ſhould people endeavour this? I am ſure I don't know, nor many times they themſelves neither. What paſſed between Pyrrhus, King of Albania, and his wiſe friend and counſellor Cineus, is pleaſant, and applicable to this matter. Cineus, ſaid to that prince, in a converſation between them, on the ſubject of Pyrrhus's intended invaſion of the Romans, Truly, Sir, the undertaking is difficult,

cult, for we ſhall have to do, with a martial, and a powerful people, but ſuppoſing the ſucceſs of our arms to be ſo great, that we ſhould ſubdue the Romans, what fruit ſhall we reap by the conqueſt? Are you at a loſs to find out that? anſwered Pyrrhus; ſhall not we make ourſelves maſters of all Italy? And what ſhall we do afterwards? replied Cineus. Pyrrhus anſwered, we will conquer Sicily, which is in the neighbourhood, and may be eaſily ſubdued. That will be a great thing, ſaid Cineus, but when that's done, ſhall we put an end to the war? Pyrrhus, who had not yet penetrated the drift of Cineus, in aſking all theſe queſtions, anſwered, by no means; after conquering Sicily, we will proceed to Africa, and poſſeſs ourſelves of Carthage, and the adjacent kingdoms. You are clear, ſaid Cineus, that the Gods will indulge you with all this good fortune, but when this is done, what are we to employ ourſelves about next? We will return, ſaid Pyrrhus, to our own country, cloathed with immenſe power, and we will conquer all the Empire of Greece. Having conquered Greece, replied Cineus, what are we to do next? When this is compleated, anſwered Pyrrhus, we will paſs the remainder of our lives in ſoft and ſublime indolence, without thinking of any thing but banquets, and feſtive ſociety. Here Cineus, who had without the King's being aware of him, entangled him in the net, ſaid laughingly,

ingly, but pray Sir, who is to hinder us from beginning to enjoy all this happineſs at this inſtant of time? Is not the kingdom you are poſſeſſed of, ſufficient to furniſh you banquets, and every other kind of regale? To what end then ſhould you conquer provinces, and croſs ſeas, waſting your health, and expoſing your life to the rage of waves, and fury of battles?

XVII. This reaſoning, which is taken almoſt literally from Plutarch, is well adopted, not only to that ambitious Prince, but may be alſo properly applied, to an infinite number of other men, who accumulate riches upon riches, at the expence of dangers and fatigues, and who without knowing what they are in purſuit of, run a vicious and an erroneous courſe in ſearch of the very thing they poſſeſs. The pride of Philip, King of Macedon, was mortified, with great addreſs, by Archidamus the IIId. King of Sparta, whom Philip had overcome in a battle, and the day after wrote Archidamus a letter, full of arrogance and inſult; to which Archidamus anſwered, that if he would place himſelf in the ſun, he would find that his ſhadow was not a jot bigger after, than it was the day before the battle. Thus it is, that fortune aggrandizes, but adds nothing to the ſtature.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

XVIII. Thoſe, who are under the dominion of ambition and avarice, invert the order and nature of things, placing the end in the means of attaining it. They deſire more only to hoard more, and to have more power, merely for the ſake of domineering more. But how does it fare with ſuch people? why that they are always unhappy, becauſe the hunger and thirſt of their deſires is never appeaſed, but either remains conſtantly in the ſame ſtate, or elſe proceeds to acquire freſh augmentations. The weight of honour and riches, has the ſame effect on the human heart which weights have upon a clock, the greater they are, they cauſe the machine to be more violently agitated, and to move with greater impetuoſity. The paſſion goes on to diſplay a ſucceſſion of cavities, as the firſt openings are continued to be filled up. At firſt the thirſt can be ſatisfied with a fountain, next having grown into a dropſy, it requires a river, and after the river, it craves the ocean: *Ecce abſorbebit fluvium, & non mirabitur.* Alexander, in his firſt ſchemes of ambition, had nothing further in view, than the deſtruction of Thebes, and the conqueſt of Thrace and Illiricum; having compleated this, he took it into his head to ſubdue the Aſiatic Empire, and when he was in quiet poſſeſſion of that, upon hear-

ing

ing a philoſopher ſay, there were more worlds, he cried with affliction, becauſe that being the caſe, his ambition could not be ſatiated with the conqueſt of one only, which cauſed Juvenal to chant as follows:

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis.

XIX. Thoſe who endeavour to acquire riches to make uſe of them, and to employ them in pleaſures, ſeem to have the advantage with reſpect to temporal convenience. For who can diſpute the happineſs of him, who being maſter of great riches, makes them the tributaries of his appetites? ſo the world judges, and the world deceives itſelf. The moſt able man that the world ever produced, and the beſt qualified to give an opinion in this matter from his own experience, as there was not upon earth a man who was richer, or even ſo rich, as Solomon, nor did any man expend his riches with more prodigality to procure enjoyments; in the doing of which, he had this advantageous circumſtance in his favour, to wit, his great wiſdom and knowledge of nature, that informed him, which were the means the beſt adapted, and the moſt likely to furniſh delight, and which was the beſt method, of applying objects to enchant the ſenſes: I ſay, hear this man's ſentiments on the ſubject, who himſelf confeſſes, that he

he had given a looſe to his pleaſures, and gratified them with every thing their voracity craved: *Omnia, quæ deſideraverunt oculi mei, non negavi eis: nec prohibui cor meum, quin omni voluptate frueretur.* And what did he meet with in this ſea of delights? nothing but bitter waters: he found that all was vanity and vexation of ſpirit: *Vidi in omnibus vanitatem, & afflictionem animi*, and he found it ſo, to ſuch an extreme degree, as to make his life a burthen to him: *Idcirco tæduit me vitæ meæ.*

XX. This is exalted and brilliant fortune, and ſo exalted, that the fortune of no man, ever roſe to a more ſublime degree of altitude. I aſk now, if the moſt miſerable man in the world, can find his heart placed in a ſtate of greater anguiſh, than when he endures the irkſome ſenſation of loathing, or being tired of his exiſtence? We know that Job uſed no other phraſe to expreſs the profound agony which his ſingular calamity had brought upon him: *Tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.*

XXI. What Solomon ſays is infallible, becauſe the church has received that book as canonical. But though it ſhould be confeſſed, that the truth of this matter is an article of faith, it alſo appears myſterious: for how could ſo much bitterneſs be contained in the greateſt delights? Solomon did not chuſe to decipher this enigma, although his abilities

abilities would have permitted him to do it with the greateſt eaſe. Let us ſee if I can hit upon its explanation, and I think I ſhall.

SECT. VII.

XXII. My firſt poſition is, that he who enjoys the moſt delights, is the man who enjoys the fewest; and I might even ſay, he enjoys none at all; but this is another enigma, more puzzling than the firſt; but I ſhall eaſily extricate myſelf from the difficulty, of ſolving both the one and the other. I aſk in the firſt place, can meat or drink afford pleaſure or gratification to a man who eats without being hungry, and drinks without being thirſty? every one will readily acknowledge, little or none; but in this manner, do ſuch opulent men as hold a looſe rein on their appetites, enjoy delectable objects. The objects anticipate the deſires. Hunger does not await the food, thirſt the drink, nor luſt the concupiſcence. How then? do they make uſe of that for which they have no inclination? in the beginning no, in the progreſs and the end, yes. The opulent man, who gives himſelf up to pleaſure, begins very early in his courſe, to acquire a habit of gluttony in all his paſſions; by which means, in a very ſhort time, the leaſt glympſe of deſire attracts him to the object. Even though his paſſion has been quite ſtifled by the antecedent enjoyment, new craving

craving ſcarce begins to revive in embrio, when he gives himſelf up to freſh ſatiety; and as at ſuch a criſis, concupiſcence muſt be very languid, the enjoyment of courſe can be but inſipid. This habit, by the immenſe repetition of acts, goes on every day acquiring more and more force, till it excites men at laſt to drink of the forbidden liquor, when they are not the leaſt ſtimulated by thirſt. Here you ſee, a man arrived at a ſtate, in which without taſting pleaſure, or being able to experience gratification, he continues to deſtroy his health, and ſhorten his life.

XXIII. But I have not yet explained all the evil. The worſt is, that hunger and ſatiety come to be joined together. If I ſay that the rich man who is fill'd, is as ſenſible of hunger, as the poor man who is really hungry, it will be thought that I am propounding a new paradox, or at leaſt a new riddle. But this ſhall not deter me from ſpeaking the truth. The hungry poor man hungers after food, the hungry rich one hungers after hunger itſelf. He who is diſtreſſed, and in want of what is preciſely neceſſary, craves for aliment. The glutton, who after having filled his belly, ſees his table covered with dainties, craves for an appetite. The firſt is unhappy becauſe he wants what is needful for him, the other becauſe he can't enjoy what he has. There is little difference in

point

point of pain or uneaſineſs between him who is really in want of water, and him who is oppreſſed with a dropſical thirſt.

XXIV. This depraved craving, this flame which raiſes itſelf upon the aſhes of another fire, worſt or laſt diſeaſe of concupiſcence, or of the concupiſcence of the ſuperior part of the ſoul, oppreſſes thoſe much, who, when they attain the pinnacle of power, arrive at the ſummit of perverſeneſs; whoſe whole purſuit, has been ſeeking provocation for the appetite, dainties to feed their ſenſuality, and extravagant incentives to inflame deſire. In looking for the exquiſite, they found the monſtrous. Heliogabalus went ſo far, as to make a banquet, all compoſed of the combs of cocks. Nero exerciſed his luſt, cloathed in the ſkins of wild beaſts, which was a habit well ſuited to the character of that brute. So extravagant were the abominations of other Emperors, that neither the courſe of ſo many ages, nor the fragrance of ſuch a number of ſaints, have diſſipated at Rome the ſtink of the Princes of thoſe times. But with all their ſolicitude what did they obtain? Nothing; they only augmented the violence of a bad habit, that it might exert itſelf with loathing. Pleaſure in the mean while fled away, like the water of Tantalus, which, notwithſtanding he ſeemed to have it always whithin his reach, his exceſſive anticipation of laying

laying hold of it, was the occaſion of his not being able to obtain it. Theſe people, with all their toil, only acquired anxieties of mind, ſickneſs, and bodily pain. And it is worthy of remarking, that thoſe who gave themſelves up to gluttony and luſt, became melancholy, peeviſh, and diſagreeable; and it may be from this cauſe, that we have rarely heard of a Prince, who was laſcivious and a glutton, in whom cruelty was not joined to thoſe vices. Some of them came to be tired of themſelves, for inſtance, the ſecond Apicius, who, after gorging two millions and a half, deprived himſelf of life, with a halter. What was this, but finding vanity and vexation of ſpirit, among the greateſt endowments of fortune. Do even the miſerably poor, think you, lead ſo unſavoury and tireſome lives.

SECT. VIII.

XXV. Truly I have now purſued the compariſon, of the one and the other fortune through the moſt difficult part, having drawn into the parallel, the moſt elevated, and the moſt abaſed, the ſovereign ſtate, and that of beggary. I did not intend ſo much when I began to write this chapter, but the pen took a flight without my being aware of it, towards the extreme of both the extremities. So much was not neceſſary, but as it is done, let us ſuppoſe that we have conquered all

the difficulty at the firſt onſet; becauſe, if he who is under the feet of fortune, is equal to him who treads the ſummit of her wheel, the reaſon is ſtronger, for ſuppoſing him, who has no more than what is required to provide things that are preciſely neceſſary, equal to the man, who is poſſeſſed of a princely fortune.

XXVI. The truth is, if we are to ſpeak out, that it is not only equal but ſuperior. Upon a ſuperficial view, the rich man appears to be better accommodated, and expoſed to fewer inconveniencies than the poor one, but if you ſearch to the bottom, you will find the reverſe. The rich man has great abundance, and variety of delicious eatables; but do they taſte more ſavoury to him, than his common coarſe food to the poor one? no, nor no ſavoury, for the appetite with which the poor man ſits down to table, more than compenſates, for the advantage derived to the rich one, by his exceſs. Of what conſequence is it to the bees of Lithuania, a rude and unpleaſant country, that they have not ſuch beautiful and odoriferous flowers to gather from, as the bees of other countries, if from their own trifling and unpleaſing ones, they extract the ſweeteſt, and beſt flavoured honey, that is to be found in all Europe? The rich man lays himſelf down on a feather-bed, but does he ſleep more or better than a poor one on a truſs

truſs of ſtraw? You ſee that the laſt always riſe cheerful, and pleaſant, and that the other often complains of having paſſed an uneaſy night. How many poor people ſlept ſweetly on the hard ground, the ſame night that King Ahaſueras, not being able to take reſt, was conſtrained to amuſe himſelf with reading the annals of his Kingdom. The rich defend themſelves from the rigours of cold, with thick walls, tapeſtry hangings, and furr'd garments; but obſerve, and you will find that they complain more of the intemperance of the ſeaſon, ſhut up within the walls of their palaces, than the ſhepherd covered with ſkins on the heights of the mountain. David, when he was grown old, found it difficult to defend himſelf from the cold with all the covering he could put on, when, at the ſame time, many antient labourers, with half the cloathing, made light of the froſts. You will ſee at every turn, an opulent man trembling and expreſſing his extreme ſenſations of cold, whenever he is obliged to leave the fire-ſide, while at the ſame time, the common people are paſſing cheerfully along the ſtreet. The ſame difference is obſerveable in ſummer. The rich man is low ſpirited and oppreſſed with laſſitude, and ſcarce ventures to go up ſtairs or down, while the common people, with alacrity and cheerfulneſs, apply themſelves to whatever falls in their way. So that what Dionyſius, of Sicily, ſaid of the golden cloak,

which covered the ſtatue of Jupiter, by way of a pretence for plundering it, may be applied to the riches of opulent people, to wit, that a cloth cloak was better, becauſe the golden one in winter did not defend him from the cold, and in ſummer it fatigued him with its weight. The opulent man inhabits a capacious and commodious palace, and never contented, he is always thinking of enlarging or improving it, but the thought of his habitation being too confined, ſcarce ever occurs to a poor man in the whole courſe of a year.

XXVII. The rich man wears fine Holland, the poor one, coarſe Dowlas; but tell me if you ever heard a poor man complain, that the roughneſs of the Dowlas was unpleaſant to, or gave him bodily uneaſineſs. The rich man is idle, and the poor one at work all the day, but you won't obſerve, that the poor man is more ſad at his work, than the rich one in his ſtate of indolence; on the contrary, and eſpecially if he works in company, his time paſſes merrily, and he goes on ſinging and chanting through the whole courſe of his labour. When that is over, his relaxation is not like that of the rich, an inſipid indolence, but ſweet repoſe, and in the concluſion, ſoft and uninterupted ſleep recompences the labour of the day. The rich, on the contrary, (as ſleep does not ſit eaſy on members which have not been exerciſed,) reſtleſs and impatient,

tient, turns a thouſand times in his bed; ſo that the poor man may be ſaid to work by day, and the rich one by night. In caſe of going a journey, it is true, the rich man travels either on horſeback or in a coach, and the poor one on foot. Notwithſtanding which, the rich man is more ſenſible of the inclemency of the weather, and is much more affected by an incommodious lodging room, a hard bed, and the want of refreſhment than the poor one; to whom, by his being accuſtomed to them, ſuch things are familiar, and conſequently they don't make him uneaſy. I, in my journies, have remarked, that the lad who attended me on foot, ſeemed much leſs ſenſible of the difficulties and inconveniences of the road, than myſelf. You may add to this, the dread of thieves, from whom the poor have nothing to fear, when the rich, behind the trunk of every tree they come near, fancy they ſee a robber.

XXVIII. If we would weigh the pleaſures of one and the other ſtate, we ſhould attend to the remark of Seneca before cited: *Inſpice pauperum, & divitum vultus.* You will obſerve the poor cheerful in their converſation, laughing from their hearts at their ruſtic balls, and in all appearance truly happy: *Sæpius pauper, & fidelius ridet.* On the contrary, you will ſee the rich, even at their feſtive meetings, ſeem tired and ſurfeited. At

leaſt happineſs does not ſhine ſo brilliant in their countenances, as in thoſe of the poor.

XXIX. All theſe diſproportions, ſpring from, or grow out of one general principle, which is this, nature left to herſelf is contented with a little, but by attempting to poliſh her, you faſhion her into a fantaſtical lady, who craves every thing, and deſpiſes every thing. A human heart with three ventricles, in the year 1699, was preſented to the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, as the moſt monſtrous production that had ever been ſeen; but morally and politically ſpeaking, it is a monſter we ſee every day. The human heart, naturally contains but two large cavities, but if you fill theſe with wordly goods, a ſucceſſion of others will begin to open, and others ſtill without end. Pleaſure and delight, are nothing to a man who does not conſider and feel them as ſuch, and no man conſiders that as a regale, which he is uſed and accuſtomed to, or which is adopted and proportioned to his own ſphere of life. Therefore delicate food, is delicate to him who has been uſed to eat plain victuals, but dainties, are familiar and common things to him who has been accuſtomed to feed on them, and therefore, he craves ſomething more exquiſite. Even variety itſelf, to him who is uſed to vary his objects every day, that they may tally with his inclinations, loſes all the enchantment,

chantment, which it originally contained. A poor man taſtes more pleaſure, in feeding on a common fiſh at his own homely board, than Caius Hirius, in eating with great pomp, his moſt exquiſitely regaling Murenas, and he is more happy, when he adds to his inheritance a foot of land, than Alexander was, when he added to his conqueſts the City of Tyre.

SECT. IX.

XXX. If we were to compare the anxieties incident to the one and the other ſtate, as we have the pleaſure, we ſhould find, that by much the greateſt load of the firſt, would reſt on the ſhoulders of the rich, either from the greater ſenſibility of the ſubjects, or from the greater magnitude or multitude of their cares. The rich are of a delicate texture, liable to be moved and diſturbed with every blaſt, or made of ſonorous metal, which complains loudly, at the gentleſt touch. They may be compared to a well, at Chiapa, a Province in New Spain, from which, by throwing in a ſmall ſtone, you raiſe a horrible tempeſt. Hence the furious perturbations, which in the opulent, are produced by ſlight cauſes. The Sultan Mahomed the Second, was ſeized with ſuch a barbarous rage upon miſſing a melon out of his garden, that he ordered the ſtomachs of fourteen

pages to be opened, to discover who had eaten it. And Otho Antonio, Duke of Urbino, ordered one of his servants to be burnt alive, for having neglected to wake him at the time he had appointed.

XXXI. The toils of the great are also more in number than those of the poor. The larger the bulk of a man, the fairer mark he is for his enemy to hit, and the greater the amplitude of his fortune, the larger the space, exposed to the wounds of adversity. The rich are high towers, the poor humble cottages, and the ray of lightning oftener discharges its fury on the tower, than on the cottage. One of the greatest temporal evils existing is a broken constitution, as the greatest temporal blessing, is a robust state of health. And there is no doubt, but that with an equal stamina, a poor man is more healthy than a rich one, because the last wastes his health by his excesses, and the other preserves his, by his sobriety. Of what avail are all a great man's riches to him, when he is in a fit of the gout? (and the gout, by the way, is a distemper which seldom attacks the poor.) I say what is he the better for them, if they cannot procure him a remedy for the evil, nor even obtain him the least ease or relief? While the fit lasts, he suffers pain, and when it is over, he endures the terrors and apprehensions of fresh attacks. Solomon pronounced the following sentence, which is applicable

applicable to all the rich: *Quid prodeſt poſſeſſori, niſi quod cernat divitias oculis ſuis.* Of what other uſe are riches to a man who poſſeſſes vaſt treaſures, than to feaſt his eyes with the ſight of them; but the ſentence is more ſtrongly applicable, to an opulent man of a bad conſtitution who is conſtantly ailing.

XXXII. A great man has more cares, and conſequently more to vex him than an humble one. More people are envious of him, and conſequently has more enemies. He is deſirous of aggrandizing his fortune ſtill more, and grieves at every little obſtacle he meets with, which he conſiders as a ſteep rock in the way of his purſuits. From thoſe below him he expects more homage, and one only, as in the caſe of Mordecai and Haman, refuſing to bend the knee to him, is ſufficient to make him unhappy. He is anxious to be upon an inequality with his ſuperiors, and when he ſees any one, who he looks upon as his equal, or his inferior, ſtep before him, he can hardly contain himſelf. There was a famous painter, named Francis, of France, rich, both in poſſeſſions and fame. When this man was at Bologhia, he ſaw a figure of Saint Cecilia, which had been painted by Raphael, of Urbino, for a church in that city, and ſeeing, and being ſenſible, how much he was outdone in the uſe of the pencil,

by

by that incomparable artiſt, it ſo affected him, that he fell ſick and died in a few days. It cannot be ſaid with truth, that ever a poor man died from ſuch a cauſe, or of ſuch an affection.

XXX. Fears and apprehenſions, in which are contained the moſt ſevere martyrdom of life, becauſe by means of them, people endure all future, and all poſſible evils, have their very neſts in the hearts of the great. He who is oppreſſed with evils, is always grieving, he who is poſſeſſed of goods is always fearing, and what is more afflicting than perpetual terror? The dangers which threaten a great man, are in proportion to the poſſible caſes of others enriching themſelves, by deſpoiling or murdering him, and though theſe are many, in his imagination they are ſtill more; ſo that riches are acquired by toil, and preſerved by anxiety. The inhabitants of Macaſar, an Iſland in the Indian Sea, have a cuſtom of drawing ſome of their teeth, and putting gold or ſilver ones in the places of them, which practice, cannot fail to be troubleſome and hurtful to them. Can any thing ſavour ſtronger of barbariſm, than the ſuffering a voluntary pain, only to gain an inconvenience. Thoſe fall into the ſame miſtake, who pant for, and are anxious in their purſuit after riches. They draw their teeth, that is, they undergo great ſufferings in order to acquire more: In the room of

thoſe

thoſe they have parted with, they get teeth of gold and ſilver, yes, but theſe are teeth, which in the end, will feed on, and gnaw their own hearts. It is very remarkable, that in the age of gold and ſilver, (according to the deſcription given, and the diviſion made of the four ages by the poets,) there was no gold or ſilver to be met with, but theſe metals made their appearance in the age of iron. Thus Ovid, ſpeaking of this age:

——— Itum eſt in viſcera terræ
Quaſque recondiderat, ſtygiiſque admoverat umbris
Effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.
Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum
Prodierat, prodit bellum quod pugnat utroque.

XXXIV. The age of gold paſſed without gold, and was therefore the Golden Age, that is fortunate and happy. In the age of iron, there was gold, and on that account, it was called, the Iron Age, that is, it was harſh and toilſome.

XXXV. Lucan, in his fifth Book of the Civil War, makes a fine digreſſion upon the happineſs of the poor boatman, Amilcas; when he paints Cæſar, in the ſilence of the night, tapping at the door of his cabbin to awake him, that he might riſe, and carry him with all poſſible haſte to Calabria. All the world was agitated, and trembling with

with the movements of the civil war; and within Greece itſelf, which is the theatre of the war, in the very neighbourhood of the armies, a poor boatman on dried ſheep ſkins, ſleeps without fear. The ſtrokes of the generous leader at his door, awake him, without producing the leaſt ſurprize in his breaſt; for although he was not ignorant, that the whole face of the country was covered with troops, he knew very well there was nothing in his cabbin to invite military inſults. O life of the poor, exclaims the poet, in which is contained the felicity of being exempt from outrages. O poverty! thou greateſt bleſſing of heaven, although not recognized or juſtly valued by men. What palaces or what temples were there, which enjoyed the privilege of Amilcas, and his cabbin, neither of which, could be made to tremble at the ſtrokes of the robuſt hand of Cæſar!

——— *O vita tuta facultas*
Pauperis, anguſtique lares! O munera nondum
Intellecta divûm. Quibus hoc contingere templis,
Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu
Cæſarea pulſante manu!

XXXVI. It is not to be wondered at, that temples and palaces ſhould be ſhaken, when cottages remain ſecure, becauſe in temples and palaces, riches are kept, therefore in them, there is no being

being free from alarms. If we compare the fortune of Amilcas, with that of Cæsar and Pompey, who were all cotemporaries, how brilliant was theirs, how obscure was his; but if you consider them, how much preferable was that of Amilcas. These ambitious heroes, whose elevated splendor, made the world regard them as two suns, were in reality no more than parahelions, suns in appearance only, or false reflections, stamped in the inconstancy of flying clouds. How far were they from happy, each being constantly tormented, with the jealousy of the other's power.

Et jam nemo ferre potest, Cæsar ve priorem
Pompejus ve parem.

XXXVII. They contend for the Empire, hazarding in the competition, life and liberty. How each is possessed, with the fear of his rival becoming victorious; what miserable forsaken man, did fortune ever place in such a strait, that in order to better his condition, he should be obliged, like Cæsar in the dead of the night, to commit himself to the rage of a tempestuous sea? Amilcas, at the same time, knows no other cares, than those of exploring the sea, and spreading his nets to dry in the sun. Others fluctuate and are tos'd about on the plains, and in the fields, while he is secure amidst the waves. He catches fish in the sea,

while

while others on land fiſh for tempeſts. At the expence of a little labour, the waters afford him as much as is neceſſary to ſupport life; when the great fatigues of Cæſar and Pompey, ſerve only to haſten on them a violent death. The din of ſo much martial noiſe, diſturbs not his reſt, while each of the two chiefs, finds in his own heart, a continual alarm to awaken him. He fears nobody, becauſe no one covets his fortune, but if any body ſhould be ſo prudent as to covet it, he may enjoy the ſame thing, without deſpoiling Amilcas. Cæſar and Pompey for the preſent mutually fear each other. The vanquiſhed perſon in future fears all the world, and the conqueror has to fear all thoſe who envy him.

XXXVIII. The heathen poets feigned poverty to be a divinity on account of the miſchiefs it preſerved people from, and the goods it produced; but Lucan calls it the mother of great men; and Horace ſays, that to this deity, the Romans owed the virtues of a Curius, and a Camillus. Ariſtophanes, the Greek, erred much in his deſcription, when he repreſented her as a ſavage fury, always ready to commit acts of deſperation. Theſe extraordinary furies, are much more common among the rich, than the poor, although it is true, that they rage with the greateſt violence, in poor people, who have been formerly rich; at leaſt, during the

the time they are in the noviciate ſtate of their misfortunes,

SECT. X.

XXXIX. I would not have it be underſtood, that by the eulogium I have juſt ended on poverty, that I meant to ſpeak of abſolute poverty, but of the relative, not of the ſtate of beggary, where people are in want of what is preciſely needful; but of that limited moderation, which adminiſters to nature, no more than what is abſolutely neceſſary, and what her wants demand, and that, at the expence of bodily labour. In truth, when I ſpeak of beggars, I am at a loſs what to ſay, or what deciſion to make concerning them. On the one hand I ſee them ſuffer great inconveniences, and on the other I ſee many people betake themſelves to that way of life, who could earn their living by their labour, and who prefer going from door to door, to working in the field, or even to leading an idle life in an alms-houſe. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, in his Book on the Vanity of the Sciences, ſays, of thoſe who go about pretending to occult ſcience, that they would not change their condition, for that of nobility; and I believe he ſays right.

XL. All thoſe voluntary poor, who are not ſo in the goſpel ſenſe, and for that reaſon, not comprehended

prehended in the benediction of Chriſt, are the peſts of the ſtates they inhabit, or where they ſtrole about. They live well, not only without being of the leaſt advantage, but are even an injury to the community. Like the ants, they are ſerviceable to themſelves only, and a nuiſance in the place they make their neſts, and where they run about. For which reaſon, they are not tolerated in any republic, which is governed with good policy.

XLſ. Diſabled or impotent beggars, are legitimate creditors of our compaſſion. There is notwithſtanding great difference among thoſe of this claſs. Thoſe who are afflicted with habitual diſorders, it cannot be denied are very miſerable, if they do not ſweeten their toil, with a due reſignation to the divine will, but if they do, they will become the moſt happy, or thoſe, who fall within our Saviour's deſcription of the moſt fortunate. The diſabled by the loſs of a limb, or by a defect in the organization of their parts, if they have a tolerable ſhare of ingenuity, and have the art of begging with addreſs, fare admirably; and not a few of them, have left behind at their deaths decent ſums of money. Thoſe who are ill-favoured, and ugly, find it difficult to ſubſiſt, eſpecially, if naſtineſs in their perſons, is joined to the deformity of their countenances. The error into which people

fall

fall, in the ordinary diſtribution of charity, in this particular, is great, they being apt to deal out their bounty with an unequal hand. The beggar, who has a pleaſing and moving way of painting his diſtreſs, is relieved by almoſt every one, and more eſpecially if he has a good countenance, and looks clean in his ſhabby dreſs. There is ſcarce any body who does not ſhun and loath the ill-favoured driveling: but we ought to remember, that Chriſt our Lord, is as much the repreſentative of the one, as of the other, and as a redeemer, is rather inclined to favour thoſe of the moſt diſpleaſing and deſpicable aſpect: thus Iſaias deſcribes him in his moſt ſacred paſſion: *Non eſt ſpecies ei, neque decor:* and a little lower: *Quaſi abſconditus vultus ejus, & deſpectus.* And that chriſtian piety ſhould not deſpiſe or ſhun thoſe who are afflicted with loathſome diſeaſes, the ſame Prophet compares our Saviour to the lepers: *Nos putavimus eum quaſi leproſum.*

XLII. But without having recourſe to ſo high a motive, natural reaſon will inſtruct us ſufficiently, that we ſhould not only diſtribute equally, but exceed in our donations, to thoſe who are deformed and of an unhappy aſpect, becauſe theſe laſt experience the moſt ſufferings, and are in the greateſt neceſſity. The others, as I obſerved before, will never want ſomebody to aſſiſt them with more

than they ſtand in need of. The firſt requires pity to be exerted in their favour with all its force, although their ungrateful appearance ſhould ſtrike us with horror. And I proteſt for myſelf, the alms which the narrowneſs of my fortune will permit me to beſtow, is diſtributed, much more in favour of thoſe of a diſguſting and a forbidding aſpect, than in favour of thoſe, who have a perſuaſive manner, and a winning outward appearance.

XLIII. But it is proper that I ſhould repeat, that I did not intend to take into the compariſon I have been making, the ſort of poor I have juſt deſcribed, but thoſe only, who procure themſelves food, raiment, and ſhelter by the ſweat of their brow, proportioned to the neceſſities of nature, without any kind of exceeding. This is what I call humble fortune, which I judge to be at leaſt equal, to the exalted and brilliant enjoyed by the opulent and great, and it ſeems to me, that I have ſufficiently proved it ſo. But I judge alſo, that the condition of thoſe who are placed in a middle ſtation of life, is preferable to either of them. I mean ſuch as poſſeſs a moderate income, and can go through life, without experiencing the pinchings of the one ſtate, or the toils of the other.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

XLIV. I have hitherto been treating of the happineſs of men, eſtimating it by the condition of their ſtations in life, abſtracted from any particular accidents that may intervene or happen to individuals of both ſorts; there being no doubt, but humble fortune is alſo expoſed to terrible reverſes, and mortifying diſguſts, although not with ſuch frequency as the exalted.

XLV. But if I am aſked, who I repute abſolutely happy or unhappy among mortals; with reſpect to the happy, I anſwer with a ſentence of the great Chancellor Bacon, in his Book, entitled, *Interiora Rerum*: where he ſays, I judge thoſe to be happy, whoſe mode of living is proportioned to their genius or inclination: *Felices dixerim, quorum indoles naturalis cum vitæ ſuæ genere congruit*: a deciſion worthy of the ſuperior talents of that incomparable Engliſhman. I think, notwithſtanding, there ſhould be ſome limitation added to the ſentence, which is, that the genius or inclination ſhould not be a vicious one, for in that caſe, the perſon would be always unhappy. The ambitious man, for example, although he finds himſelf in the occupation of high poſts, is ever reſtleſs and anxious to riſe to others ſtill higher. The covetous

man, even when he is overloaded with riches, labours and toils to add freſh treaſures to his heap. The opulent glutton fills himſelf with meat and drink, but he alſo fills himſelf with diſeaſes, which afterwards, turn all he has eaten and drank to bitterneſs.

XLVI. With the limitation I have mentioned, I eſteem the ſentence a very true one. Temporal conveniences are all relative, and there is as much variance in the genius of men with reſpect to the application of them, as there is in their inclinations with reſpect to the food they fancy. What one eſteems good, another thinks bad. God only is good, and ſavory to all men. This man diſdains the lot, which that adores; and one graſps the thing, which another deſpiſes. Cæſar, when he was going to Spain, in his paſſage over the Alps, came to a very poor little village, where one of his companions, in a converſation which turned on the miſery of the inhabitants, aſked another ſneeringly, if he thought theſe Barbarians alſo, had their queſtions and diſputes, about who ſhould command and govern. To which Cæſar replied quickly, ſaying, I aſſure you, I had much rather be the firſt man in this village, than the ſecond at Rome. The learned Fleming Nicholas Clenard, went over to Africa, with an intention of learning Arabic, and remained two years in the

kingdom of Fez, from whence he wrote often to his friends, and in his letters assured them, that he never was in a place the customs of which, suited so well with his genius, for this reason only, because in that kingdom, they had not such a multitude of laws, nor were their litigations so prolix as in Europe, all disputes being determined instantly by the magistrate in a summary way. This method suited well with the disposition of Clenard, who abhorred extremely, the endless windings and turnings of processes in our tribunals. George Paschio, relates of him in his Book, de *Novis Inventis*, though what he says is not true, that on this account only, he left his own country and went to live in Fez. To this it may be replied, that it appears from the testimony of many authors, his return to Spain was voluntary, from whence, after teaching languages some time in the University of Salamanca, he went to the Court of Lisbon, where he was engaged as a tutor to the Prince of Portugal, brother of King John the Third.

XLVII. This great variety in the genius and dispositions of men, and not the platonic love of their country, is the true cause, why many find themselves satisfied in miserable and unpleasant regions, and refuse to leave them for others more happily situated. Ovid having observed, that some Scythians, who were brought to Rome, never

miſſed an opportunity of flying back to their own ſteril bleak country, which was the place of their nativity, attributes their doing ſo, to an occult affection for home, (that he himſelf with all his explanatory powers, could not hit upon the explanation of) which like a ſympathetic faculty, or magnetic virtue, attracts every man to his own country, and at laſt leaves it defined, with a ſort of declaration, that it is he does not know what:

Neſcio, qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
Trahit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui.
Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore pejus?
Huc tamen ex illa barbarus urbe fugit.

XLVIII. It is owing to none of all this, nor was it the effect of a myſterious magic, which charms and enchants men to be fond of their own country, which induced the Scythians to leave the ſoft habitations of Rome, for the frozen regions of Scythia, for we every day ſee men, who to improve their fortunes, leave their native homes, ſometimes never to return again; but it does not follow from thence, that they ceaſe to love their country. The place where I write this abounds in ſuch examples. The true reaſon of this political phenomenon is, that the mode of the Scythians living in their own country, was proportioned and ſuited to their natural genius, and diſpoſition. The ſame thing happens with

with reſpect to the Laplanders, a Northern nation, ſituated between Norway, Sweden, and Ruſſia, on the Coaſts of the frozen Sea. Theſe Barbarians live in a continual ſtate of war, with an immenſe number of bears and wolves, and in a country full of lakes, and almoſt always covered with ſnow. Many of them at various times have been brought to Germany; but notwithſtanding they were well accommodated, and had a good maintenance aſſigned them, there never was one, who when an opportunity offered did not fly back to his own country.

XLIX. True temporal felicity, conſiſts in attaining that ſtate or mode of life, which the genius or inclination of a man prompts him to wiſh, or deſire. Conveniences with reſpect to the ſoul, may be compared to clothes with reſpect of the body, it not being poſſible to bring thoſe which in appearance are beſt made, to ſuit well with, or to fit every ſhape.

L. There are, however, ſome of ſuch flexible tempers, that they can accommodate themſelves to every kind of fortune, and be content to live within the limits of its extenſion; ſome diſpoſitions of ſoft wax, who at will, can conform themſelves in ſuch a manner, that every thing ſits eaſy on them. Nothing inquiets them, becauſe the ſoftneſs

neſs of their texture gives way to every impulſe. They enlarge and contract themſelves, in proportion to the limits of the walk which is allowed them. They riſe without fatigue, and they deſcend without violence. In their own docility, they find the honey, which endulcerates every ſort of acid. They are of ſo happy a temperament, that provided they don't want what is abſolutely neceſſary, they are contented in every ſtation. The wheel of their mind, is concentrical with the wheel of their fortune, and let this laſt turn as it will, they with great facility turn themſelves to correſpond with it. They bear their fortune within themſelves, move which ever way they will. It cannot be denied, that there are but few people of this ſweet diſpoſition, but it ſhould be alſo confeſſed, that ſuch are the truly happy, and that only the ſaints themſelves can be more ſo, becauſe they are either without the circle of the wheel, or placed in the center of it, ſo that its turnings can neither raiſe them to pride, nor precipitate them to contempt.

SECT. XII.

LI. We have ſaid which are the abſolutely happy but who are the abſolutely unhappy? Thoſe, whoſe deſtiny have drawn them into a train of life, which is contrary

contrary to their genius or diſpoſition. The violence done their inclination is conſtant, and therefore their diſguſt is conſtant alſo. That which would be ſweet to others, is bitter to them. Fortune could certainly, without adding freſh goods, make people more happy; It might be done at no more coſt, than permitting them to change ſtations and employments, as from envying each other, when they have nothing to be envious of, ſprings the miſchief. The bird from his cage, ſees with envy the ſtone mount, and fly with freedom through the air, but the aſcent is a greater violence to the ſtone, than the confinement to the bird. The poor man looks with envy on him he ſees idoliz'd on a throne. The Prince burns with impatience becauſe he can't taſte the liberty enjoyed by the poor perſon.

LII. Some are made unhappy by fortune, there are others who are ſo by nature. Thoſe I ſay, who in their own proper genius and tempers, find their greateſt enemy; diſcontented men, who are pleaſed with nothing, but are always loathing what they are in preſent poſſeſſion of; who although they ſhould frequently change their fortunes, would find no other effect from it, than they would from changing their ſhirts, which after ten or twelve days wear, would be ready to poiſon them. Theſe people live in a continual oppoſition to the movements of fortune, notwithſtanding which,

which, they are drag'd on, and obliged to obey the impulſe of the wheel, being compelled by force and violence, like the ſtars, which are conſtrained to follow the movements of the ſphere to which they are attached, although they are always endeavouring at a motion, oppoſite to that of the orb which agitates them. Theſe are ſickly ſouls, whoſe ſtomachs turn at all ſorts of food, and there are not a few of ſuch men in the world.

The

The moſt refin'd POLICY.

SECT. I.

1. THE center of all the political doctrine of Machiavel, is placed in that curſed maxim of his, that in the application of temporal means, the ſemblance or appearance of virtue is uſeful; real virtue, or virtue itſelf is an obſtacle. From this point, iſſues forth in right lines, the poiſon, to the whole circumference of that pernicious ſyſtem. All the world abominates Machiavel, and almoſt all the world are his followers. Altho', to ſpeak the truth, the practice of the world is not taken from the doctrine of Machiavel, but the doctrine of Machiavel is rather taken from the practice of the world. This depraved genius taught in his writings, that which he had ſtudied in men. The world was the ſame before Machiavel, which it is at preſent, and they deceive themſelves greatly, who think, that the ages continued to grow worſe, as they continued to ſucceed

ceed one another. The golden age never exiſted but in the imaginations of the poets; the happineſs they feign to have prevailed in it, was enjoyed by only one man, and one woman, Adam, and Eve, and continued ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, that ſo far from laſting an age, according to many fathers, it did not endure an intire day.

II. You need only examine hiſtory, both ſacred and profane, to be informed, that the policy of the antients was not better than that of the moderns; and I for my part, am inclined to think it was worſe, for they ſcarce knew any other road to the Temple of Fortune, than that which was either laid open by violence, or fabricated by deceit. Good faith and friendſhip, laſted as long as people found it their intereſt to preſerve them. Religion and juſtice ſerved as footſtools to the Idol of convenience. Ovid and Aulus Gelius relate, that when Tarquin reſolved to build the great temple of the capitol to the honour of Jupiter, he demoliſhed, in order to make room for it, the temples of many inferior Gods, who were all obliged to give way to Jupiter: but the God Terminus, or the patron of intereſt and convenience, refuſed to cede or make way for Jupiter himſelf, ſo he maintained his ground, and his

ſtatue

ſtatue kept its place in the capitol, jointly with that of Jupiter:

Terminus, ut veteres memorant, conventus in urbe
Reſtitit, & magno cum Jove templa tenet.

III. This fiction diſcovers to us the following truth, that the object of men's purſuits is their own convenience, which they are ever ſtrenuous and anxious to promote, and this is the deity, who never cared to cede or give place to Jupiter himſelf, for from the moſt antient times, *ut veteres memorant*, intereſt has ever diſputed the precedence with religion.

IV. Polibius lived a great while ago, and in his time, they had not only one, but many Machiavels, who taught, that the management of public affairs was impoſſible without deceit and treachery: *Non deſunt, qui in tam crebro uſu doli mali neceſſarium eum eſſe dicant ad publicarum rerum adminiſtrationem* (Lib. 13. Hiſtor.) Although you may ſee in Lucan, the fundamental doctrine of Machiavel, more ſtrongly expreſſed by the abandoned Phocion, in the ſpeech he made to Ptolomey King of Egypt, to prevail with him, in violation of gratitude, and in breach of his plighted word to take away the life of the great Pompey.

——— Sydera terra
Ut diſtant, & flamma mori. ſic utile recto.

V. This

V. This is preciſely ſaying, that virtue is always in a ſtate of warfare with private utility, and that to negociate convenience, it is neceſſary to abandon juſtice. A little after he adds, that he who reſolves to be merciful and juſt, ſhould baniſh himſelf from courts, for there, vice only is patronized:

——*Exeat aula*
Qui vult eſſe pius.

VI. This is the creed, not of a few people only, but of the world at large, and it has been ſo in all times. What Machiavel, Hobbes, and other infamous politicians have inſerted in their works, is the ſame which you hear every day in juntos of people; to wit, that virtue is neglected, that vice is careſſed and exalted; that truth and juſtice are baniſhed from courts, and that flattery and lying are the wings, with which people aſcend to high ſtations. But I ſuppoſe this to be an error, and that it ought to be claſſed in the catalogue of common errors, and in my reaſoning on this ſubject, I ſhall undertake to demonſtrate that it is one, by informing mankind, that contrary to the opinion of the world, the moſt refin'd, and the moſt ſafe policy, is that which is founded in juſtice and truth.

SECT.

SECT. II.

VII. I ſhall begin with confeſſing, that thoſe who aſpire at being uſurpers, can never attain their ends, but by wicked means, becauſe to the goal of inſolence, there is no road through the land of virtue. But who will ſay theſe are ſubtle politicians? They are the moſt blind and miſtaken of all, becauſe they purſue a road, that is all over drenched with blood. Very few have travelled through it, who before they arrived at the point in view, have not loſt their lives in a violent and an ignominious manner. You hardly ſee any thing in this whole rout, but men hanging on gibbets, carcaſſes extended on ſcaffolds, limbs torn off by wild beaſts, and the aſhes of victims, who have been ſacrificed to the vengeance of the party offended. You may find here or there one, who by purſuing this road, has at the end of his career attained ſovereignty. But is the accidental ſucceſs of one or two lucky people, a counterbalance to ſo horrid and bloody a ſpectacle. Who will be encouraged to truſt himſelf in a ſea, ſtrewed with rocks, and covered with wrecks and dead bodies, becauſe in the courſe of many ages, three or four veſſels which have navigated it, have arrived ſafe at their deſired port? We ſhould add, to the hazard of ſhipwreck, the toils and terrors of

the

the navigation, for it is certain that thoſe which navigate a ſea of danger and horror, before their cataſtrophe, endure a tempeſt within their ſouls. Thoſe who from private people aſpire at being ſovereigns, lead a life of perpetual alarms and anxiety, in order afterwards to die with ignominy: ſo that their toil and their danger, remain cemented to their fortune, even after they have accompliſhed or ſucceeded in their undertaking; for all tyrants live in terror, and rarely or never die in their beds. But how can ſuch as theſe be conſidered, even as middling politicians. Policy, in the ſenſe we here uſe the word, means the art of negociating one's own convenience. But what convenience can a man find, by travelling through a laborious life to a violent death? I ſay, that ſo far from contemplating ſuch people as able politicians, we ought to eſteem them as conſummate fools.

VIII. There are, however, ſome among them, who by calling them fools you do not ſay enough of; for they give cauſe to pronounce them raving mad; they are thoſe, who when they ſee they are advancing to a lofty precipice, will attempt to ſcale the height; people, emulous of vain exaltations, who that they may ſhine on high, conſent to be reduced to aſhes, and who prefer the ſhorteſt life elevated in air, to a long duration on the

the humble earth. Theſe take to themſelves the motto of Saavedra, *dum luceam peream*; provided they ſhine, they are indifferent about being conſumed. Such was the ambitious Agripina, who, when the Chaldeans told her her ſon would obtain the empire, but that he would take away her life, anſwered ſpiritedly, *Occidat dum imperet.* Provided he reigns, I don't mind his murdering me. Such again was Anna Bolene, who finding herſelf condemned to death for an adultreſs, ſaid proudly, They may do what they will with me, but they can't deprive me of having been Queen of England: from whence may be inferr'd, that ſhe eſteemed it a preferable lot, to have been a Queen, and die with indignity in the flower of her age, than to enjoy a long life of honour as a private perſon. We ſhould look with an eye of pity on geniuſes of this character, not only with reſpect to their misfortunes, but to their deluſion alſo; and we ſhould degrade thoſe from politicians to mad men, who knowing their danger, run headlong into it.

IX. I will go ſo far as to acknowledge, that ſome iniquitous politicians, have experienced the gale of fortune favourable for them, even to the day of their deaths. Philip, King of Macedon, and Father of Alexander, was fortunate in almoſt all his undertakings, for which he was as much

indebted to his craft and deceptions, as to his arms, and in his conqueſts, was equally favoured by Mercury and Mars; and if his injuſtice to Pauſanias, in not caring to puniſh the abominable act of turpitude, which Atalus, one of Philip's captains, had violently perpetrated on him, had not irritated that generous youth to ſuch a degree, that he murdered the unjuſt Prince with his fiſts, it might have been ſaid, that none of his wicked deeds had ever been prejudicial to his fortune. Cornelius Scylla, manifeſted that he profeſſed no regard to any religion, by the havock he made among the Grecian temples, which he accompanied with ſuch piccant terms of contempt and deriſion of their deities, as they were well deſerving of; and though he was extremely able in the conduct of war, he was not leſs ſo in political ſubtilties, which made his enemy Carbon ſay of him, that in the perſon of one man, he found himſelf engaged with a lion, and a fox, but that he feared the fox more than the lion. His cruelty exceeded the bounds of barbarity, notwithſtanding which, he was wonderfully ſucceſsful. He firſt triumphed over the enemies of the republic, and afterwards over thoſe of his own perſon. Nor did his putting thouſands of people to death violently, who while he was dictator were all executed by his order, excite a ſufficient degree of public or private hatred, to occaſion his being treated in the ſame way;

way; but his natural death was worſe than any violent one, for he died eat up by lice, in conſequence of all his fleſh by degrees, being converted to thoſe vermin.

X. England furniſhes us in later times, with two way-ward, but ſucceſsful politicians. The firſt was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter,* the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and ſo great a favourite, as to cauſe his entertaining hopes, that ſhe would give him her hand in marriage, which was the occaſion of one of the moſt wicked acts of his life, for he murdered his wife to remove the obſtacle to his attaining ſo high an honour. Fortune always cheriſhed and continued faithful to him, making him to the day of his death, maſter of the affections of that Queen, whom he held in chains by the ſprightlineſs of his wit, and his fertile and domeſtic talents of pleaſing, as well as by his genteel and graceful perſon; and he had the preſumption, when he found he could not obtain her for his wife, to ſolicit from her the laſt perſonal favours. The ſecond was Oliver Cromwell, who, under the title of Protector, was tyrant of England, and principal actor in the

* Feyjoo, in the ſupplement to his Theatrico Critico, ſays, the relation of the Earl of Leiceſter's being guilty of the horrid crime of murdering his wife, in order to remove all impediments to his marrying Queen Elizabeth, which he had entertained hopes of doing, was taken from Nicholas Sanders, and another perſon whoſe name he has forgot; he ſays further, he has ſince found reaſon to doubt the truth of that accuſation, and condemns the miſtaken zeal of Sanders, who he owns was much addicted to give credit to any thing he heard againſt the enemies of the Catholic Religion. He declares that Proteſtants have the ſame right to natural juſtice as Catholics, and that they ſhould not be poſitively and unjuſtly charged with crimes, upon falſe rumours, or dubious reports.

death

death of Charles the First. An attempt ſo horrible, from the circumſtance of having erected his own ſubjects into his judges, inſtituting proceſs, and pronouncing ſentence with all the formalities, which are ordinarily uſed with reſpect to common criminals, that the world till then had never ſeen ſuch an example. The inſult was made greater, by their affecting to elude inſulting him, under the pretence, that they proceeded according to law. The Engliſh nation ſo far debaſed themſelves by that act, that the perſon who was then hangman of London, and who could not be prevailed on, either by threats or promiſes to execute the ſentence, appeared to be the moſt noble ſpirited man in the kingdom. Cromwell, the author of ſuch an enormous piece of wickedneſs, and of many other inferior ones, reigned afterwards, not only abſolute maſter of Great Britain for the reſidue of his life, but by dint of his incomparable ſagacity, came to be the arbitor of all Europe.

XI. There are theſe examples, but you will find very few others, of perverſe politicians, who have been always ſucceſsful. But what ſhall we infer from ſuch examples? Shall we eſteem thoſe fine politicians who have purſued the ſame rout? no, we ſhould rather call them abſurd and inſenſible ones. It ſhews great want of judgment, to found hopes and expectations upon one or two ſingular events, in preference to what commonly happens in the ordinary courſe of things. Becauſe ſome one has found a vein of gold by digging the ground, would it not be madneſs in me to occupy myſelf

myſelf, and ſpend all my time in opening wells through the bowels of the earth; for if two or three have found the philoſopher's ſtone, though I much doubt if any one ever did, the number of thoſe are infinite, who by ſearching after it, have waſted their ſubſtance, and loſt their lives. In theſe very rare chances on which imprudent ambitious people found their expectations, there likewiſe intervene other very rare accidents, and that they ſhould all concur to favour him is more than any prudent man can expect. Theſe few ſucceſsful people were alſo aſſiſted with very uncommon natural talents, by dint of which, if they had directed their ſteps through the paths of virtue, they would have gone on ſmoothly, and would have arrived at happineſs, with much greater eaſe, and ſatisfaction to themſelves; which correſponds with what Titus Livius ſays of the elder Cato: *In illo viro tantum robur corporis, & animi fuit, ut quocumque loco natus eſſet, fortunam ſibi facturus videretur.*

SECT IV.

XII. But abſtracted from the innumerable craigs and ſtumbling blocks in the way of ambition, when it advances to its object by the road of infamy, if its views are very high, the beſt and moſt ſafe policy is, to purſue the pretenſion by the way

of juſtice and truth. Lord Chancellor Bacon, who was as great a politician as he was a philoſopher, divided policy into the high and the low. The exalted or ſound policy, conſiſts in the knowledge of diſpoſing means for the attainment of ends, without deviating, either from truth, equity, or honour. The low or mean policy, conſiſts in the art of attaining ends, by the means of fictions, flattery and ſophiſtries; the firſt is proper and natural to men, in whom a generous and an upright heart, is joined to a clear underſtanding, and a ſolid judgment. In fact, ſays the author we have cited, almoſt all eminent politicians have been of this character: *ſane ubique reperias homines rerum tractandarum peritiſſimos, omnes ferè candorem, ingenuitatem, & veracitatem in negotiis præſe tuliſſe.* The ſecond ſort is compoſed of men, of baſtard diſpoſitions or underſtanding; or whoſe underſtandings are ſo faintly enlightened, that they can diſcern no other road which will lead them to their deſired end, but that of deceit; or their diſpoſitions are ſo depraved, that they embrace diſhoneſty without reluctance, if they conceive it will be uſeful to them; or I am rather inclined to think, that both the one and the other faculty are vitiated.

XIII. The repreſentation of both theſe ſorts of politicians, may be ſeen as in two mirrors, by viewing the characters of the two Emperors, Auguſtus

guſtus and Tiberius, who are immediate ſucceſſors to each other. Auguſtus was open, candid, generous, ſteady in his friendſhips, faithful to his promiſes, and free from all deceit. In the whole courſe of his life, which was a very long one, there does not apper the leaſt treachery; why do I ſay treachery? not even the ſlighteſt fallacy. Tiberius on the contrary, was deceitful, falſe, gloomy, and diſſembling. His looks and his breaſt, were never in concord, and his words were always oppoſite to his deſigns; which of the two was the beſt politician? Tacitus decides the queſtion, when he extols the perſpicuity of Auguſtus, and remarks on the caution of Tiberius; in the laſt he recognizes high diſſimulation, and in the firſt ſupreme ability, which induced Mucianus, by way of animating Veſpaſian againſt Vitelus, to ſay: *Non adverſus Auguſti acerrimam mentem, neque adverſus Tiberij cautiſſimam ſenectutem inſurgimus.*

XIV. I ſhould always eſteem him the beſt politician of all, who contented with the little or much which Heaven has beſtowed on him, avoids interfering with, or engaging in the traffic and buſtle of the world; in the ſame ſenſe, we underſtand the ſaying, that the beſt thing which can be done with dice, is to forbear playing with them, but we muſt except the caſe of filling a public office, the buſineſs of which muſt be attended to.

The

The following admirable diſtich, of I don't know what antient, ſeems addreſſed to all private people.

Mitte ſuperba pati feſtidia, ſpemque caducam
Deſpice, vive tibi cum moriare tibi.

XV. But I would not have it underſtood from what I have been ſaying, that I approve of thoſe they commonly call good men, who are in all reſpects uſeleſs members of ſociety, to whom may be applied the Italian proverb: *Tanto buon che val niente.* They are ſo good, that they are good for, or worth nothing. Much leſs do I approve of thoſe narrow-minded geniuſes, who care for nobody but themſelves. It is meanneſs of ſpirit, ſays the excellent Bacon, for a man to direct all his attention to his own convenience, and to make that the center of all his happineſs: *Centrum plane ignobile eſt actionum hominis cujuſquam commodum proprium.* Man is a ſociable animal, not only by the force of ſocial laws, but the obligation of aſſiſting other men when it is in our power; it is a debt we owe to our own nature, and more eſpecially to our friend, and our neighbour, but moſt of all to our King and our country. Pliny ſays, that thoſe who are diſpoſed to acts of beneficience, and to adminiſter eaſe and comfort to other men, have ſomething divine in them: *Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem.*

Thoſe

Thoſe whoſe whole care or attention is confined to themſelves only, ſcarce deſerve the name of human beings.

SECT. V.

XVI. What reaſon dictates is, that we ſhould neither officiouſly engage in, nor obſtinately refuſe entering into buſineſs, provided we find in ourſelves talents or an aptitude for it. If a perſon can make his fortune in this line, although he does not ſolicit employments, he ſhould not refuſe accepting them, becauſe the public is much intereſted in having places of truſt fill'd with able and good intentioned men. But upon a ſuppoſition that the doctrine we have laid down on this head, is not ſuited to men of ſuch moderation, but rather applicable to thoſe who are ſomewhat affected with the malady of ambition, and who are not fond of reading documents of morality, but had rather ſtudy political ones: I ſay upon this ſuppoſition, let us proceed in following the parallel of the two courſes, by which a man may either make his fortune, or improve that which he is already poſſeſſed of.

XVII. All that a perſon can reaſonably deſire, may be attained without deviating from the path of honour. A man of a clear head, accompanied with

with perſpicuity and prudence, will always find a way to arrive at the goal of his pretenſions, without inclining the line of rectitude and honeſty, towards the curve of deceit. Fidelity in friendſhip, and ſincerity in behaviour, are ſo far from being prejudicial, that they afford great aſſiſtance; becauſe with theſe endowments, he will gain the confidence and good will of ſuch as can lend their hand to raiſe him, and of thoſe, who may be uſeful as inſtruments in helping him forward. By being diſintereſted and a lover of juſtice, you will acquire the eſteem and affection of many, and the veneration of all men. To be open hearted, and to communicate with confidence in all matters, except ſuch as prudence dictates to you to conceal, or ſuch as are confided to you under the ſeal of ſecrecy, with reſpect to thoſe with whom you have intercourſe have a moſt powerful attraction. And although this behaviour may ſometimes occaſion diſguſt, to here and there a perſon of a different caſt of mind, that diſadvantage would be doubly compenſated for, by the good opinion, his being impreſſed with noble and ſincere ſentiments, would create of him. The diſguſt paſſes away and the good opinion remains. In fact, theſe tranſparent ſouls, when diſcretion is combin'd with the purity of their diſpoſitions, are thoſe who aſcend to the greateſt heights, with the leaſt fatigue. The theatre of nature in this particular,

is an emblem of the theatre of fortune. The diafanous and brilliant bodies, are thoſe which occupy the moſt elevated ſtations in the fabric of the globe; the gloomy, opake, and obſcure ones the loweſt.

XVIII. He who finds himſelf aided with an apt or ready prudence, an upright intention, and a firm loyalty, together with the qualities, we have before enumerated, has no need to be always conſidering and contriving means to better his affairs. Apelles, who in every other inſtance, celebrated the famous painter, Protogenes, pointed out a defect in him, which was, that he never knew when to have done finiſhing a picture; this ſhews, ſays Pliny, that too much diligence many times is prejudicial: *Documentum memorabili nocere ſæpe nimiam diligentiam.* When our politician, finds himſelf on the theatre where his talents become conſpicuous, expedients occur to him without much thought or ſtudy. An officious left handed competitor, may happen to diſpute the palm with him, but it will be at the expence of a great deal of additional toil and labour. The cunning ſnake may arrive at the ſame eminence, to which the generous eagle aſpires, but with how much fatigue? The character and properties of a low politician, can't be better diſplayed than under the figure of a ſnake, the ſide way and oblique motion, with which

which he goes on, points out the deceit he proceeds with; his breaſt fix'd to the earth, ſhews his adherence to ſelf intereſt, the various inflexions and foldings of his body, are deſcriptive of his crooked ſoul; and his conceal'd venom, denotes the evil intention he hides. O ſerpent! what pains does it coſt you to better your ſituation, only becauſe thou art a ſnake; while at the ſame time the eagle, with a careleſs and an eaſy flight aſcends to the top of Olimpas?

SECT. VI.

XIX. This is not the greateſt inequality diſcernable, the moſt ſtriking, conſiſts in the different ſecurity, conſequent to the one and the other mode of conduct. The left handed politician, both while he is ſeeking his fortune, and after he has obtained it, is expoſed to great danger. It is impoſſible, or next to impoſſible, that the artifices and mal-practices of a man beſet and watched by many rivals, ſhou'd not be diſcovered; and when they are once laid open, as this was the cement of the whole fabric, its being reduced to ruins will not be delayed an inſtant. It is very difficult, ſays father Famianus Eſtrada, for him to avoid a ſudden fall, who ſtands on ſlippery ground, and is preſs'd upon by many people: *Difficile eſt in lubrico ſtare diu quem plures impellant.* This is the ſtate of a deceitful

a deceitful politician, he walks through a very slippery path, and is always upon false ground. The people who labour to pull him down, consist of all those who either envy his fortune, or abhor his evil deeds, which is as much as to say, he has for enemies, both the good and the bad. How can a man so circumstanced, support himself for any length of time, he must be overthrown, and as it frequently happens, may in his fall be dash'd to pieces: an energic description of this is sung by Claudian.

——Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror: tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.

XX. The upright politician, on the contrary, meets no dangers on his road, and has nothing to fear at his journey's end. He is the more safe, the more the grounds of his conduct are displayed. He has fewer enemies than the other, because they can consist of bad people only. In case he is overthrown, his fall will not be precipitate and violent, but soft and easy. His innocence will at least preserve his life; and the worst that can befal him, is being reduced to his former state; but it most commonly happens, that evil intentioned people, do not succeed in their attacks upon him, and that the shafts of their malice recoil and wound themselves,

themſelves, which oftentimes, affords honour and triumph to the party accuſed. The hiſtory of a politician of integrity, although an infidel by his religion, occurs to me at preſent, which is very applicable to the ſubject we are treating of. The relation is taken from Tavernier's Voyages, and it being new and pleaſant, I ſhall give a brief recital of it.

XXI. Mahomed Alibeg, high ſteward to the King of Perſia, was raiſed to that elevated poſt, in the beginning of the laſt century, from being a poor ſhepherd. The King, one day when he was hunting, met with him in the mountains, where he was playing on his flute, and attending his flocks. For his amuſement he aſked him ſome queſtions, and taken with the vivacity and acuteneſs of the lad's anſwers, he carried him with him to his palace; where having him inſtructed, the rectitude of his heart, and the clearneſs of his underſtanding, ſoon gained the affection and confidence of the King, who advanc'd him rapidly from charge, to charge, till he at laſt placed him in the office of high ſteward. His inflexible integrity, and his averſion to bribes, a thing very rare among the Mahometans, raiſed him powerful enemies; but finding him ſo thoroughly poſſeſſed of the confidence of his maſter, they could not venture to act haſtily againſt him during the King's life. After

his

his death, when his ſucceſſor, who was a young man, mounted the throne, they ſuggeſted to him, that Mahomet had ſubſtracted vaſt ſums from the Royal Treaſury. The Prince ordered him to make up his accounts in fifteen days, to which Mahomet replied with intrepidity, that ſo much delay was not neceſſary, and that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to go with him immediately to the Treaſury Office, he would there deliver them to him. The King went, followed by all the accuſers, but he found every thing in ſuch fine order, and the books of accounts ſo exactly and accurately ſtated, with which all other circumſtances correſponded, that nobody had a word to ſay. From thence the King proceeded to Mahomet's houſe, where he could not help admiring the moderation of the furniture, and the poverty of the decorations. One of the enemies of the favourite, obſerving the door of a room ſhut, and ſecured with three ſtrong chains, hinted it to the King, who aſked Mahomet what he had got ſhut up in that room. Sir, anſwered Mahomet, here I keep my own things, all you have hitherto ſeen belongs to your Majeſty, and having ſaid this he opened the door. The King entered the room, and after looking all round, ſaw nothing but the following particulars, hanging on nails drove into the wall. A leathern doublet, a wallet, a ſhepherd's crook, and a flute. The King was viewing them with aſtoniſhment,

aſtoniſhment, when Mahomet throwing himſelf at his feet, ſaid, Sir, this is the habit, and theſe are the goods which I was poſſeſſed of, when the King your father brought me to court. Theſe were what belonged to me then, and theſe are what I have now, and theſe only I claim as my own; and as they are ſo; I ſupplicate with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, that your Majeſty will permit me to enjoy them, by returning to the mountains from whence my fortune brought me forth. Here the King unable to refrain from tears, embraced the generous favourite, and not content with this mark of his approbation, immediately ſtript off his royal robes, and ordered Mahomet to wear them, which in Perſia, is eſteemed the higheſt honour, a King can confer on a ſubject. The reſult of all this was, that Mahomet during his whole life after, preſerved the firm confidence and love of his Prince. What pity it is, that this diſintereſtedneſs, this nobleneſs of mind, this rectitude, this moderation, ſhould be all lodged in an Infidel.

SECT. VII.

XXII. The obſtacle in the way of an honeſt politician, is the difficulty of treating with men in power upon the principles of truth and candour. Flattery is a door that opens very wide for the introduction to favour, but as it is very low alſo,

no

no man of a generous mind can enter in at it. I have heard all the world declare they abhorred flatterers, but I never ſaw any one who did not cheriſh them. This proceeds, from every man rating his own talents at more than their true value, and becauſe the language of a flatterer correſponds with his own opinion of himſelf, he does not look upon him as a flatterer, but as a man of abilities who forms right judgments of things; but allowing him to be ſo prudent, as even to undervalue, inſtead of over rate his own faculties, he might ſtill lie open to the practices of a flatterer; as for inſtance, the flatter'd perſon, might be induc'd to attribute the exceſſive high opinion the flatterer profeſs'd to entertain of him, to the exceſs of his love and eſteem for him, and all that is repreſented through the microſcope of love, is greatly magnified in the imagination, and in this caſe, altho' he does not credit the applauſe, he eſteems the affection. By theſe means, flattery becomes a univerſal net, which catches and entangles fiſh of every kind.

XXIII. This method then, if managed with art, for there are ſome flatterers who are fulſome, and ſurfeiting, is ſufficiently effectual and ſecure to practice with, but is at the ſame time moſt vile and pernicious, and therefore ſhould never be made uſe of, nor ſhould the truth ever be deviated from.

But truth is diſguſting! no matter, prudence will find ſeaſonings to make it palatable; and although it be true, that by uſing theſe means, an honeſt man will be longer in ingratiating himſelf into the good opinion of a great perſon, than a ſordid flatterer, ſtill, he will in the end obtain a more ſolid and laſting eſtimation with him. The firſt thing to be obſerved by him, is never to give his opinion with aſperity, nor ever to give it at all but at proper opportunities. The rigidity of undeceiving people with reſpect to their errors, ſhould be ſoftened by the gentleneſs of reſpect, and if reverence, and ſweetneſs of manner, are uſed as vehicles to convey the propoſition, they will cauſe it to be well received. It would be better ſtill, to refrain intirely from doing what we have juſt mentioned, if you could with propriety be excuſed from ſpeaking your ſentiments. Theſe qualities were celebrated by King Theodoricus, in a favourite of his: *Sub genii noſtri luce intrepidus quidem, ſed reverenter adſtabat. opportune tacitus, neceſſarie copioſus (Caſiodor. lib. 5. Epiſt. 3.)* In caſes that admit of waiting for favourable opportunities, be watchful and attentive to make uſe of them, when the mind of the great man is happily tempered, and when he is well diſpoſed to be undeceived, and to receive information; the choice of theſe muſt be confided to diſcretion, who beſt underſtands

ſtands theſe matters, and is the beſt guide in ſuch caſes:

Sola viri molles aditus, & tempora noras.

XXIV. In the ſecond place, you ſhould never, in oppoſition to the opinion of a great man, be ſtiff or poſitive in maintaining your own ſentiments, becauſe this is difficult to be done without giving offence. The philoſopher Favorinus, anſwered wiſely to ſome, who blamed him for giving way in a diſpute he had with the Emperor Adrian, ſaying, it was proper and neceſſary to give way to a man who commanded thirty legions.

XXV. Thirdly, you may ſweeten the bitter of truth, with a ſpecies of engaging and modeſt condeſcenſion; which conſiſts, more in actions than in words, that is, by being obſequious, and expreſſing by your geſtures, a diſpoſition and deſire to pleaſe; and theſe will have a notable effect in promoting attention to your advice, becauſe they will create an opinion, that the inſtruction is the offſpring of generous ſincerity, and not of poſitive pride. I would not however have it underſtood, that the ſubmiſſion ſhould be abject, or ſavour of meanneſs of ſpirit; but I had almoſt ſaid, that with reſpect to ſuperiors, ſubmiſſion is generally defended from the hazard of ſuch an imputation.

tation. Dioniſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, having refuſed to grant a requeſt which was made to him by Ariſtippus, of Cyrene, he proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and obtained what he aſked. Some people reprehended the action, as beneath the dignity of a philoſopher, to which Ariſtippus anſwered; he that would be heard by Dioniſius, muſt apply his mouth to his feet, for there his ears are placed. The ſaying was pleaſant, and I won't determine, whether or not the ſubmiſſion was exceſſive.

XXVI. I repeat my aſſurance, that by uſing theſe precautions, the open honeſt politician, will obtain a much higher degree of eſtimation in the mind of a great man, than the ſly contemplative one. When he arrives at convincing the perſon, who was before perſuaded he was able, that he is candid alſo, he ſtands on ſure ground. In conſequence of his integrity, he may at times experience a few ſlights, but he will ſtill continue to poſſeſs the confidence he has gained; as it happened to the Duke of Alva, with Philip the Second, when he ſent the Duke to conquer Portugal. The King before he ſet out, ſhewed him the ſlight of refuſing to let him wait on him to take his leave, and at the ſame time confided to his management an enterprize of ſuch importance. On the contrary, the flatterer, although he in his ordinary converſation and deport-

ment,

ment, is always pleaſant and entertaining, you will perceive, if his ſuperior is a wary man, that ſuch ſort of talents, don't introduce him deep into his eſteem. Many people make uſe of flatterers, as men who are feveriſh uſe water; and although it may ſeem obnoxious to them, they gargle their throats with it, but don't ſwallow it. Generally ſpeaking, and to me the concluſion is infallible, that with an equal ſhare of talents, the good, candid, faithful, grateful man, who is a lover of juſtice and equity, will make a greater fortune, and with more certainty, than him who is void of thoſe qualities, or poſſeſſed of oppoſite ones.

SECT. VIII.

XXIX. But here I am preſs'd with an objection, which is pretended to be deriv'd from common experience, to wit, that nothing is ſeen in the world, but perverſe people exalted, and virtuous ones caſt down, that flattery and deceit ride triumphant, and that truth and candour lie groaning and oppreſſed. I anſwer firſt, that all this ſeems more like the voice of envy, than juſt obſervation founded on experience. I confeſs, that you hear theſe complaints at every turn, but who articulates them, not thoſe who occupy places, for they would hardly ſpeak againſt themſelves; neither do virtuous neglected people utter them; for

they don't go about complaining and troubling the world with their diſappointments, neither do they ſnarl at, or envy the honours confer'd on men in power, nor do they compliment themſelves with being the only people who poſſeſs any degree of merit. Who are they then, that find themſelves ſo neglected? none but the bad and incapable, thoſe who from want of ability, and by their bad behaviour, have made themſelves unworthy of all attention; theſe are the men, who accuſe fortune of partiality; and as the angry and diſcontented people being very numerous, they make ſuch a noiſe with their complaints, that the cries vociferated from their vitiated breaſts, ſeem like the clamours of all the world. You may add to this, that as no man who arrives at obtaining power, can ſerve every one he ſees in an inferior ſtation, but only a few of them, all ſuch as don't partake of his beneficence, think he has made an unjuſt diſtribution of his favours; like the Caffres, they only worſhip God when he ſends them fair weather, and are very angry with him when they have foul. The very people obliged, are apt to complain, becauſe the favours beſtowed on them fall ſhort of what they expected, or thought themſelves entitled to. I can aſſert from my own experience, that having had intercourſe with ſome of thoſe perſons who had been the artiſans of their own fortune, I found them beyond compariſon

better men than common fame had repreſented them to be.

XXVIII. Secondly, even though it ſhould appear true, that the fortunate virtuous men are but few in number, I anſwer, nothing can be inferr'd from thence to contradict what we have aſſerted. If thoſe are few, who have made their fortunes by purſuing the paths of virtue, it is becauſe few have attempted it in that way. How can many arrive at a goal, which but few have ſet out on their rout to. It is certain, that men of ſanctity of manners, or thoſe who are truly virtuous, are never ſolicitous about aſcending to high ſtations. They are like the ſtars, none of which attempt to riſe to a ſphere ſuperior to that in which God has placed them. Thoſe who are not bleſſed with ſuch ſolid virtue, but are endowed with the talents we have mentioned before, are the men we are about to treat of; and I ſay, that in all countries, ſuch men are but few in number, though I will venture to aſſure thoſe few, if they will apply themſelves, that they will ſucceed and do their buſineſs. Shew me a ſingle man of diſtinguiſhed natural parts, and of a clear underſtanding, who is well intentioned, and has a firm and conſtant heart; who is courteous, faithful, and juſt; that has not better'd his fortune, if he has diligently endeavoured at it. Many of theſe, I mean, many in proportion to the num-

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ber of them, are ſought by fortune, even when they themſelves ſeem to ſlight her; and although they may poſſibly ſhew me ſome ſuch who have been reduced; ſtill, for every one of this ſort they can inſtance, I will venture to point out a hundred crooked left handed politicians, who have been brought to poverty and miſery, by their frauds, little tricks, and mean cunning.

XXIX. But I have not mentioned all, for I am firmly perſuaded, that you will rarely meet with a man, to whom virtue has not been of uſe, even in point of temporal convenience; becauſe, if the ſyſtem of government, and the men in power are favourable to him, he is raiſed, if indifferent, he is reſpected, if adverſe, he at leaſt is not hated; even when the ſtate is inflam'd by factions, the oppoſite party, if in power, although they don't confide employments to him, conſider him as an exception to their reſentment. There never was ſeen in the world, a furor, equal to that of the Sicilians, when in their famous veſpers, they cut the throats of the French; nor was there ever any nation ſo irritated againſt another; for their barbarity carried them to rip open the bellies of all the Sicilian women, who they ſuſpected to be with child by Frenchmen. In this horrible maſſacre, they did not ſpare one of that nation who fell into their hands, except William de Porcelcto, Governor of the

diſtrict

district of Calatafima, who was protected from the general rage, by the fame of his goodneſs. So certain is it, that the temple of virtue is the only aſylum of public ſafety.

XXX. The noiſe and clamour, that men of great abilities are neglected, and lie hid in corners, is a mere fable, and if they don't voluntarily hide themſelves, totally void of truth, or if this is not the caſe, they are neglected, becauſe to their great talents, there are annexed great defects. I have gone about and ſeen the world, but to this day, have not obſerved a man of diſtinguiſh'd abilities, who was not blemiſh'd with glaring defects, ſlighted and diſregarded; however, for we muſt in every thing ſpeak the truth, the eſteem has not always been in proportion to his degree of merit. Thoſe who ſay the contrary, if you attend to them, don't complain of other peoples ſlights and misfortunes, but of their own. With their tongues, they lament that men of talents are deſpiſed, in reality, they only grieve that thoſe are deſpiſed who are void of them, that is themſelves; and under the pretence of zeal for the public good, they vent their own private ſpleen. It is the vulgar artifice of extreme incapacity, to cenſure the partial diſtribution of favours, and it has been remarked, that if one of theſe cenſurers, ever aſcended to what he aſpired at, he immediately approved all thoſe

meaſures

measures of government, which he had before clamoured againſt; from whence it may be inferr'd, that all the merit he before lamented to be trodden under foot, he conſidered as centered and collected together in his own perſon. I have ſeen ſome unworthy men exalted, but don't remember an inſtance of a great man without ſpot being abas'd or contemn'd.

SECT. IX.

XXXI. It is now time for us to treat of the inconvenience of low policy. The celebrated Bacon calls it, the aſylum of thoſe who for want of talents, are incapable of purſuing the ſublime path of heroic policy: *Quod ſi quis ad hunc judicii, & diſcretionis gradum aſcendere non valeat, ei reliquitur tamquam tutiſſimum, ut ſit reſtus, & diſſimulator (de Inter. ter. cap. 6.).* This maxim, coincides with that which Plutarch cites of the General Lyſander. The Lacedemonians remonſtrated with him, that on account of his little faith and truth, he degenerated from Hercules, whom they boaſted being the deſcendants of. To which he anſwered wittily, alluding to the habit Hercules uſed to wear, that for want of the ſkin of a lion, he was obliged to make uſe of the ſkin of a fox.

XXXII. There are different degrees of low policy, ſome of which, are worſe than others. The

first,

first, is that of diſſimulation and craft. The ſecond, is that of falſe appearances and lying. The third, is that of wickedneſs and inſolence. The firſt, if it does not come in contact with the line of the ſecond, is in the moral indifferent, but it is very difficult to purſue a courſe of craft and reſerve, without being under the occaſional neceſſity of telling many lies; becauſe if a man is preſs'd with queſtions, ſilence, by being unfavourably interpreted with reſpect to the perſon queſtioned, is equivalent to, or makes as much againſt him, as a poſitive anſwer; and the gift of being ready in theſe ſtraits, with an ingenious come off, is beſtowed on very few people.

XXXIII. An habitual diſſimulation, proceeds, partly from a defect in the underſtanding, and partly from the natural talents being vitiated. Thoſe who can't diſtinguiſh, when it is proper to obſerve ſilence, nor when it is requiſite, and when hazardous to be open and explicit; upon a ſhort reflection, either decide upon keeping ſilence totally, or elſe on all occaſions, never to venture more than a very dimunitive explanation; like blind people, who even when they are walking on plain ground, for fear of ſlipping, proceed with great caution. This in ſome, is more the effect of puſillanimity than the want of reflection, although they always mix the one with the other; but be that as it will,

they

they lead but a weary and unpleaſant life; for wearing a padlock continually on the lips, is the ſame thing, as living with a heart which is ever impriſon'd. Such people, are ever in dread that the ſecrets of their breaſts ſhould be laid open, or elſe, that ſome words which they have made uſe of, have already diſcovered them. They are deſtitute of the comfort of unboſoming to a friend, becauſe all puſilanimous people, are diſtruſtful and ſuſpicious; they ſcarce think any man ſincere in friendſhip, or ſafe to put confidence in; they alſo make themſelves unpleaſant, and diſguſting companions, becauſe they make a myſtery of every thing; and the reciprocal communication of ſouls, being the ſweeteſt correſpondence among men, they are unhappy, becauſe they can't taſte of this bliſs; and they are diſagreeable, becauſe as far as it depends on them, they deprive other people of that happineſs. We may add to this, that no prudent perſon confides in him who has confidence in nobody, becauſe ſuch a man, is ever ſuſpected of judging other people by himſelf. It alſo happens, that in conſequence of his not communicating his deſigns to any one, thoſe afford him no aſſiſtance, who might either be diſpos'd, or have it in their power to ſerve him, for want of being acquainted with what he aims at. This was the caſe of Pompey, who although a daring warrior, was a timid politician. His intention was the ſame as Cæſars,

that

that is, to rule the republic with an abſolute ſway, Cæſar ſucceeded in his ſcheme, becauſe he attempted the thing openly. Pompey, by hiding his deſigns from his moſt affectionate friends, who were numerous; and by uſing occult artifices, and endeavouring to diſturb the republic, in order, that it might fall ſpontaneouſly into his hands, miſſed his aim; becauſe his friends, being ignorant of what he intended, knew not how to apply their influence in aſſiſting him. Tacitus comparing him with Marius and Sylla, ſays, *Occultior non melior*, For all theſe reaſons, it appears very difficult, for men who are exceedingly deceitful, to better their fortunes. At leaſt, they will hardly ever owe their doing it to their genius.

SECT. X.

XXXV. The dealers in falſe pretences, and the men of cunning, compoſe the vulgar of a court, and are the moſt numerous part of population in the political world; but they who act upon theſe principles, follow a very dangerous tract, although it is the moſt beaten. Their deceptions are ſo manifold, that notwithſtanding art and fortune ſhould conſpire to hide them, it is next to impoſſible that ſome would not appear. A fabric built on falſe ground, without the wind overturning it, will fall of itſelf. When a lying genius

is

is once found out, the leaſt inconvenience conſequent on the diſcovery, is, his never being believed any more. Tiberius, on account of his having been ſo often detected in falſehoods, was not credited, even when he ſpoke the truth: *Vero quoque, & honeſto fidem demiſſe*, ſays Tacitus.

XXXV. Not only lies detected are unfortunate, but they are likewiſe ſometimes ſo, on account of their being thought true; for in this caſe, they produce an effect, quite oppoſite to the purpoſe they were intended to anſwer. Nero wanted to murder his mother Agripina in ſuch a manner, that her death ſhould appear accidental and not deſign'd. For this purpoſe, he cauſed a ſhip in which Agripina was to embark, to be conſtructed ſo artfully, that the part where his mother was to be lodged, could be eaſily ſeparated from the other, and let the unfortunate Princeſs drop into the Sea. The purpoſe was not anſwered, becauſe the part did not ſeparate as was intended, but only open'd, ſo as to cauſe great dread of ſhipwreck in thoſe of the party. Aceronia, a lady who attended Agripina; when the alarm happened, ran out and called aloud for aſſiſtance, ſaying, ſhe was Agripina, the mother of the Emperor. The darkneſs of the night favoured the deceit, and thoſe who knew Nero's intention, believing ſhe was Agripina, came quickly to her; not with a deſign to aſſiſt, but demoliſh the unfortunate Aceronia,

Acceronia, which they did, upon a ſuppoſition that they were doing an agreeable piece of ſervice to Nero.

XXXVI. Lying, is proper and natural to vile and ambitious people, who mixing flattery with their lies, become vile and contemptible to the laſt degree; for by ſo doing, they make themſelves the ſlaves of all mankind. They ſubmit to every one, and humble themſelves to every one, and treat all the world as their maſters; ſome becauſe they ſhould do them ſervice, and others becauſe they ſhould not injure them; like the ſavages of Virginia, who not only worſhip the ſtars becauſe they give them light, and promote fertility, but they worſhip all they fear likewiſe; not only the devil who they moſt dread, but alſo fire, clouds, horſes, and great guns are venerated as deities by them. They have work enough upon their hands who ſerve ſo many maſters, for over and above the labour which liars find in obeying ſuch a number of directors, they are alarm'd and fatigu'd with the riſques they run, for their practices of deceiving being once diſcover'd, all mankind abhor them.

SECT. XI.

XXXVII. We come now, to the quinteſſence of the venom of ambition, to thoſe peſts of ſociety, abandoned politicians; to thoſe concealed Atheiſts,

Atheiſts, thoſe devils in diſguiſe; who without the leaſt ſcruple, to attain their baſe purpoſes, practice the moſt deformed vices; who to lay their hands on benefits, ſet their feet on, and trample upon the laws; who with the fine accompliſhments, of perjury, ingratitude, and treachery, are galanting fortune night and day. Theſe, of all politicians are the moſt blind, becauſe the road, by which they think to arrive at happineſs and honour, leads them directly to misfortune and diſgrace. Who, by ſuch ſort of means, was ever made happy? Machiavel himſelf, the grand maſter of this infernal policy, paſſed the laſt years of his life in extreme miſery, and he would long before his diſſolution happened, have died on a gibbet, if he had not denied in the torture, his participation in the conſpiracy againſt the family of the Medicis. If one or two, have happened to raiſe themſelves by the dint of wicked practices, their elevation may be compared to that of Simon Magos, who was lifted up, that his legs might be cruſhed to pieces with his fall. Sejanus, in conſequence of a ſimilarity in their habits and diſpoſitions, gained ſuch a degree of favour with Tiberius, and came to have ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he directed and controul'd him with an abſolute ſway. And what did all theſe ſmiles of fortune end in? Nothing more, than that no culprit was ever put to death with greater ignominy. Petronius Arbiter, by flattering the laſcivious

laſcivious diſpoſition of Nero, arrived at being ſuperintendant of his turpitudes, or regulator of his brutalities; ſo that in all which related to criminal pleaſures, the Prince obeyed his ſubject, nor would he taſte of any thing, but what Petronius preſcribed; notwithſtanding which, the criterion arrived, when Nero condemned him to death, which Petronius anticipated by opening his veins. It is very remarkable, that out of all the people Nero moſt hated, Seneca was the laſt who died by his order. The arm of the Prince, was reſtrained by the virtue of the philoſopher, notwithſtanding that ſame virtue made the Princes life unpleaſant, and was an irkſome monitor to him; and after all, the philoſopher did not die without a crime, for he was privy to the conſpiracy of Piſon. If virtue enjoys theſe immunities with bad Princes, what may it not expect from good ones?

XXXVIII. It would be ſtrange delirium in him who is making war againſt heaven, to expect, the ſtars ſhould be favourable to his deſigns. A Frenchman, reminding an Engliſhman of the time, when in the reign of Henry the Sixth, the Engliſh were almoſt abſolute maſters of France, ſaid ſneeringly to him, when do you think you ſhall return again to be Lords of our kingdom; to which the Engliſhman made him this admirable reply, *when your ſins are greater than ours.*

Little different from this was the ſaying of Agiſlaus; who, (when Tyſaphernes finding himſelf ſuperior in forces, in violation of the peace he had ſworn to obſerve, begun hoſtilities,) ſpoke thus. *I am very happy at this event, becauſe Tyſaphernes by his perfidy, has engaged the Gods on my ſide.* The iſſue was, that Agiſlaus came off triumphant, and Tyſaphernes loſt the battle and his life.

XXXIX. But to illuſtrate how much God takes part with the enemies of him, who hopes to ſucceed in his undertakings by violating the oaths ſworn by his holy name, there is not a more memorable inſtance in hiſtory, than may be ſeen in the caſe of Ladiſlaus the fourth, King of Hungary. This Prince, after gaining ſome victories, agreed upon a truce with Amurat the Second, but in a little time afterwards, inſtigated by the indiſcreet zeal of the Pontifical legate, he begun the war a freſh: Worldly policy taught him, that the opportunity was favourable, as the Turks had not recovered from the conſternation of their late defeats. Ladiſlaus had excellent troops, and for his General, John Huniades, who was eſteemed the moſt ſkillful warrior the world knew in that age. They came to a battle, which in the beginning was much in favour of the Hungarians. Amurat, when he ſaw his troops ready to betake themſelves to flight, drew out from his boſom the inſtrument

inſtrument containing the truce, which Ladiſlaus had ſworn to obſerve, and lifting his eyes to heaven, in a loud voice, addreſſed our Saviour, in words to this effect: *Jeſus Chriſt, if thou art the true God, as the Chriſtians believe you to be, chaſtiſe the affront offered to you by theſe people, in breaking a truce, which they have ſworn by thy holy name to keep ſacred*; and wonderful to relate, at this inſtant the gale of fortune veer'd about, the Mahometans defeated the Chriſtians with a bloody ſlaughter, and to compleat the whole, Ladiſlaus himſelf was among the ſlain:

Diſcile juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.

SECT. XI.

XL. One of the moſt common effects of infamous policy is, the author's own maxims being often turned upon, and brought to militate againſt himſelf. Jeroboam, when the kingdom of Iſrael was divided, having made himſelf maſter of the ten tribes, ſpun, as it appeared to him, a moſt exquiſite fine thread of policy, for obſerving, that from a religious motive, the hearts of his ſubjects were attached to the Temple of Jeruſalem, and that, if he could not ſeparate them from the Jews in point of worſhip, he was not ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his portion of the empire; he raiſed

two idols, and inſiſted the ten tribes ſhould worſhip them, forſaking the true God, who was worſhipped in the Temple of Jeruſalem; but this keen piece of policy, as we read in the Book of Kings, was the very cauſe, which deprived his poſterity of the ſucceſſion to the crown; his ſon Nadab in conſequence of it, having loſt the kingdom and his life by the hands of the rebellious General Baaſſa. In the death which the Jews inflicted on our Saviour, they pretended, that political precaution made it neceſſary they ſhould deprive him of life, for otherwiſe, the Romans would demoliſh them for having acknowledged any other King but Cæſar; but for their having carried this curſed maxim into execution, heaven ordained as their puniſhment, that theſe very Romans, ſhould afterwards be the people to deſtroy them.

XLI. Thus Providence diſpoſes, that the very ſame means which Machiavilian politicians apply for their axaltation, or their ſecurity, become the inſtruments of their deſtruction. Haman, is hang'd on the ſame gallows, which he prepared for Mordecai. Perilus, is burnt in the ſame brazen ox, which he fabricated to indulge the cruelty of Phalaris. Calipus, tyrant of Sicily, has his throat cut by the ſame knife, with which he took away the life of the generous Dion. Iſaac Aaron, a Greek,

Greek by nation, whoſe eyes were put out by order of the Emperor Emanuel Comenus, as a puniſhment for his evil deeds, afterwards adviſed the uſurper Andronicus, not only to put out the eyes of his enemies, but to cut their tongues out alſo; becauſe, that after being deprived of their ſight, they could do miſchef with their tongues. The Emperor Iſaac Angelo, ſucceeded Andronicus, and ordered, that the tongue of the infamous Counſellor who had before loſt his eyes, ſhould be cut out. Perrin, Captain General of Geneva, the great perſecutor of the Catholics, when in the year 1535, that republic changed their religion; cauſed the ſtone of the great altar in the Cathedral, to be tranſported to the place of execution, that it might ſerve as a ſcaffold to diſpatch delinquents on; and father Maimburgus, in his Hiſtory of Calviniſm, tells us, that the blood of Perrin, who was beheaded for his crimes, was the firſt which ſtained the ſtone. Thomas Cromwell, who Henry the Eighth, when he erected himſelf into head of the Engliſh church, conſtituted his ſupreme vicar in all eccleſiaſtical matters, was a man extremely falſe, cruel, and avaritious: To furniſh pretences for perſecuting the Eccleſiaſtics, that he might enrich himſelf with their ſpoils, he prevailed on Henry to make that moſt iniquitous law, that ſentences of death, and confiſcations, pronounced on people for high treaſon, ſhould be good and

valid, although they had not been heard in their defence; but Cromwell himſelf, was the firſt man this law was put in practice againſt; Henry having cauſed him to be beheaded, without his being heard or permitted to make any defence:

——Non eſt lex æquior ulla,
Quam necis artificem fraude perire ſua.

XLII. Finally, and to ſum up the whole, if we ſearch hiſtory, we ſhall hardly find one among a thouſand of thoſe politicians, who have ſought to exalt themſelves by means of wicked arts and practices, that have not come to an unhappy end. Thus it has ever been till this time, and ſo it will ever continue to be from henceforward. What blindneſs then is it, to perſevere in following a path, by purſuing which, you can only by a miracle of chance avoid a precipice? What can this be but delirium, the infallible ſymptom of the fever of ambition? which is a flame that can't burn with violence in any man, without his being affected with a phrenſy of the head.

SECT. XIII.

XLIII. All we have ſaid of policy, as it relates to private people, may be applied to princes, or ſuperiors, who govern every kind of ſtate; and with

with reſpect to theſe alſo, the diviſion of policy into the high and the low, is apt and proper, and the firſt is ſecure, and the ſecond hazardous in them, in the ſame proportion, which it is with reſpect to ſubjects or private men. Any ruler whatever, who is endûed with the three virtues, of prudence, juſtice, and fortitude, will be a ſingular good politician, without ever having read any of thoſe books, which treat of reaſons of ſtate. The true arts of governing, are, to chuſe ſuch miniſters as are wiſe and upright, to reward merit, and to puniſh crimes, to watch over, and attend to the intereſt of the public, and to be faithful in promiſes. By theſe means, the reſpect, the love, and the obedience of ſubjects, will be much more effectually ſecured, than by all that compound farrago of political ſubtilties, called reaſons of ſtate, a myſtery, depoſited in the minds of privy counſellors, which, as if it was a moſt ſacred thing, they never ſuffer to be totally diſplay'd, nor ever to go forth to the public, unleſs covered with a thick veil, and is for the moſt part, no more than a ridiculous phantom, or vain idol, which under the title of a Deity, they exhibit for the adoration of the ignorant vulgar. Reaſon of ſtate, is the univerſal agitator, or primum mobile of a kingdom, and is the reaſon for every thing, without being the reaſon of any thing. If it is aſk'd, why was ſuch a thing done, the anſwer is, for reaſons of ſtate, very well, but why was ſuch

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another thing omitted to be done, why for reaſons of ſtate alſo. Would it not be better to ſay, it was done becauſe juſtice required it, or becauſe religion, clemency, or ſome moral virtue dictated the doing it. The reaſon of the directions of a miniſter to his inferiors, in all matters, is, that they are the King's commands. The reaſon why a Prince orders any thing to be done, ſhould be this, and this only, becauſe the commandments and laws of God, require it; for a Prince in a more rigorous ſenſe, is the miniſter of God, than his ſubalterns are miniſters to him.

XLIV. If we are to underſtand, that reaſon of ſtate means political prudence, why not call it by that name? becauſe the phraſe political prudence, implies or ſignifies a moral virtue, but the term, reaſon of ſtate, we don't know the meaning of. This expreſſion, *ragioni di ſtato*, took its riſe in Italy, but it does not ſeem as if they entertained a high veneration for it there, ſince we are told, that the holy Pontif Pius, could not bear to hear it mentioned; and was uſed to ſay, that reaſons of ſtate were the inventions of perverſe men, and the very reverſe, of religion and the moral virtues. It was obſervable, that Pope Pius, in no caſe ſtood in need of theſe political ſubtilties, for without their aid, he was not only a great ſaint, but a diſtinguiſh'd and exemplary ruler.

XLV. It

XLV. It was a remark of the celebrated Bacon, that the moſt deſirable governments which the church has in all times experienced, were under thoſe Popes, who having paſſed the greateſt part of their lives in monaſteries, were reputed ignorant of political buſineſs; and that theſe made excellent Princes, and recommended themſelves much more to the good opinion of poſterity, by their wiſe regulations, than thoſe, who had been bred in the ſchools, and had exerciſed themſelves all their lives, in the management of public affairs; inſtancing as examples of the truth of this aſſertion, Pius V. and Sextus V. who both reign'd in the ſame age: *Imó convertamus oculos ad regimen pontificium, ac nominatim Pij. V. vel. Sixti V. noſtro ſæculo, qui ſub initiis habiti ſunt pro fraterculis rerum imperitis, inveniemuſque acta paparum ejus generis magis eſſe ſolere memorabilia, quam eorum, qui in negotiis civilibus, & principum aulis enutriti ad papatum aſcenderint (Lib. 1. de Augment. Scient.)* This teſtimony to the truth, is given by a Calviniſt Heretic, although abſtracted from his religion, he was in every ſenſe, a great, and moſt enlightened man, and one, who was not more remarkable for his incomparable talents, than for his candour and ingenuity.

XLVI. The reaſon he gives why the Popes, who before their elevation to the throne, had lived

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in holy retirement, excelled in the mode and goodneſs of their government, thoſe, who before their riſe, had always been exerciſed in public buſineſs, entitles him to the appellations we have juſt beſtowed on him. He ſays, the want of civil inſtruction in thoſe Pontiffs, was more than compenſated for by their virtues; becauſe Princes, who follow ſteadily, the plain and ſafe road of religion, juſtice, and the other moral virtues, readily and expertly, without the aid of ſtudied policy, put in train, and diſpatch all ſorts of buſineſs that may occur to them. They are ſound and robuſt ſouls, who have no more occaſion for civil arts, than men who are healthy, and bleſs'd with good conſtitutions have for phyſic. *In eo tamen abundè fit compenſatio, quod per tutum, planumque iter religionis, juſtitiæ, honeſtatis, virtutumque moralium, prompte, atque expedite incedant, quam viam, qui conſtanter tenuerint, illis alteris remediis non magis indigebunt, quam corpus ſanum medicina.*

XLVI. I almoſt bluſh, that a Heretic ſhould talk in this ſtrain, when among the Catholics, we find ſo many politicians who abound in very different maxims. But the caſe is, that the ſubtilties and artifices, which compoſe what is commonly call'd worldly policy, are a ſort of remedies, which ſickly ſouls only ſtand in need of. A vicious government, which he who has the management of it, turns

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and winds to anſwer his private purpoſes, cannot exiſt without the help of ſuch medicaments, which may with as much propriety be call'd drugs, as thoſe that are ſold in an apothecary's ſhop. But a ſound underſtanding, endued and juſtly temper'd, with the four elemental qualities, of prudence, juſtice, fortitude, and ſobriety, with only the aſſiſtance of theſe virtues, will, without the ſuccour of other arts, and without embarraſſment, ſurmount all the difficulties that can occur in government.

XLVII. And ſince Bacon has mentioned him, let us take a curſory view of the reign of Sextus the Vth. This ſpirit, ſo truly incomparable, that it ſeems as if God had formed him for the purpoſe of governing the whole world, in whom, the magnanimity of Cæſar, the prudence of Auguſtus, and the juſtice of Trojan were joined, and who, in theſe virtues, even excell'd them, in a few months after his mounting the throne, had gained the reſpect of all the Princes of Europe, and had put the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate in better order, and under better regulation, than it had been known to be bleſſed with or enjoy, for many antecedent ages. Thefts, cheating, murders, ſubordinations, and licentious inſolence, were ſo effectually rooted out and baniſhed from that great city, that it never till then, could with ſo much propriety be called holy Rome. All dread of extortion

extortion and injuſtice was loſt, and nobody feared, only God and the Pope; and as Gregory Leti tells us, in his Hiſtory of Sextus, women, and other defenceleſs perſons, walked the ſtreets at all hours of the night, as ſafely, as in the cloiſters of a Capuchin Convent. In the five years which he reign'd, he embelliſhed Rome with many noble edifices, and left the treaſury ſome millions richer than he found it. I aſk now, by what political arts, and what ingenious devices, he performed all theſe wonders? He knew no arts, ſave thoſe, of an indefatigable vigilance, and attention to the concerns of government, a fervent zeal for the public good, and an unalterable rectitude and juſtice. I can't tell, whether what has been ſo much rumoured about Sextus having put on falſe appearances before his advancement to the throne, be true, but I believe it is not; and it is certain, that after he found himſelf ſeated in the Papal chair, he was a man void of all diſſimulation, always generous, open, free and ſincere, and one, who that his deſigns ſhould not appear occult, frankly expoſed and laid them open; and unleſs the virtue of prudence dictated caution, or the character of the prelate demanded reſerve, he concealed the purpoſes of his heart from no man. This frankneſs, was natural to his genius, and he was the ſame in that reſpect, while he was a religious; and therefore, I can't give credit to what is ſaid of his

practiſing

practiſing duplicity while a Cardinal, in order to obtain the Popedom. It is more probable, that they miſtook what was the real effect of his virtue, for diſſimulation. They alſo charge him with doing violence to his nature, by bearing all ſorts of injuries patiently, that he might acquire the character of a meek and gentle man; but why ſhould not all this be imputed to his deſire, in obedience to the goſpel precept, of imitating our Saviour? The ſeverity he obſerved when he was Pope, proves nothing to contradict this ſentiment, becauſe bearing with offences that are merely perſonal, and thoſe which are committed againſt dignities, are very different things. They alſo ſay, he feign'd himſelf decrepid, and worn out with age and infirmities, to excite in his favour, the choice of the Cardinals, from the proſpect of a ſhort pontificate, and the quick return of another conclave. But notwithſtanding what people ſay, I don't believe the Cardinals are ſo much influenced by this ſort of policy as the world imagine, from their having ſo often choſe Popes of good conſtitutions, and not far advanced in years, provided at the time of their election, their judgment was arrived at that ſtate of maturity, which it is not common to attain but in a more advanced age. On the other hand, it is probable, that Sextus who was ſeventy-four when he mounted the Papal chair, was much broke. If he afterwards ſeemed more robuſt, it might be, becauſe having

having charged himſelf with ſuch weighty obligations, he uſed extraordinary exertions to comply with what he had undertaken; and beſides this, the before cited Leti, informs us, that to enable him to diſcharge the duties incumbent on him, he fed more copiouſly, and took more nouriſhing aliment, both with reſpect to meat and drink, when he was a Pope, than he did while he was a Cardinal.

XLVIII. I have dwelt with pleaſure on the eulogium of this ſingular man, who was always the object of my admiration, although ſome have been unjuſt enough, not to render him the praiſe due to his merit. And here by the way, I can't diſpenſe with congratulating the ſeraſic religion, on having produced in the perſon of this Pontif, and in that of Cardinal Ciſneros, two politicians, ſo eminent, that in my opinion the world never ſaw greater; though neither the one nor the other have been without their enemies, who, envious of their merit, have ſtrove to tarniſh their glories; but what I moſt admire in this particular is, that ſo able a man as Don Antonio de Solis, ſhould in the third Chap. of his Hiſtory of Mexico, paint the Cardinal, as a man deficient in point of political abilities, notwithſtanding he in all other reſpects heaps on him the higheſt encomiums. Foreign authors do him more juſtice, and particularly, Flechier, Biſhop

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of Nimes, who with great judgment and diſcretion wrote his life, celebrates him, as a moſt eminent and brilliant politician: and another modern French author, having drawn a parallel of the characters of the two Cardinals, Ciſnero, and Richlieu, gives the preference to our countryman; acknowledging, that he was equal to the other as a politician, and much preferable to him as a devout man; though by the way, he by ſaying this, pays no great compliment to Ciſnero's ſanctity.

XLIX. From all that has been ſaid on this ſubject, it is evident and plain, that with an equality of talents, thoſe politicians who proceed upon the principles of honeſty, and who purſue the road of rectitude and truth, will with greater certainty, and more eaſe, attain their ends, than thoſe, who follow the rout of artifice and deceit; for the firſt, is the ſound or true policy, the other, the rotten or falſe.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 2, for *Æſhmes* read *Æſtimes.*

Page 3, for *deligencia* read *diligentia.*

Page 10, for *Philopemnes* read *Philopemenes.*
for *excelentem* read *excellentem.*

Page 18, for *Obrem* read *ob rem.*

Page 21, for *Jara* read *Java.*

Page 29, for *læthalis* read *lethalis.*

Page 39, for *ipſi* read *ipſa.*

Page 44, for *ſeperat* read *ſeparat.*

Page 49, for *dimittis de nos* read *ne nos.*

Page 89, for *poſſeſſiori* read *poſſeſſori.*

Page 92, for *vita* read *vitæ.*

Page 102, for *trahit* read *tangit.*

Page 109, for *mori* read *mari.*

Page 119, for *Vitelus* read *Vitelius.*

Ditto, — for *coutiſſimam* read *cautiſſimam.*

Page 120, for *Beneficience* read *Beneficence.*

Page 147, for *Juſticium* read *Juſtitiam.*